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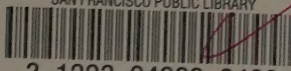
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OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

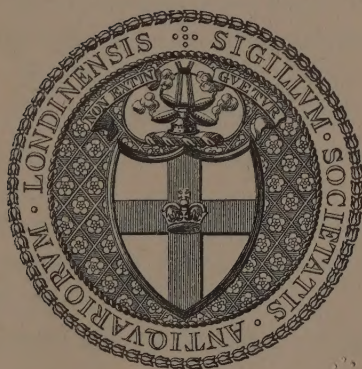
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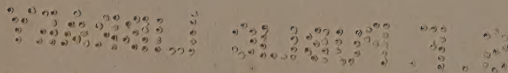


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ARCHAEOLOGIA:

OR,

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS,

&c.

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- I. *Memoir on a Mappemonde by Leonardo da Vinci, being the earliest Map hitherto known containing the name of America; now in the Royal Collections at Windsor: in a Letter addressed to AUGUSTUS WOLLASTON FRANKS, Esq., Director, by RICHARD HENRY MAJOR, Esq., F.S.A.*

Read May 26th, 1864.

MY DEAR FRANKS,

I HAVE had placed in my hands by B. B. Woodward, Esq., F.S.A., the Queen's Librarian, a Map of the World, which he has found in Her Majesty's Library at Windsor, in the collection of papers in the handwriting of Leonardo da Vinci. Mr. Woodward's object in sending it to me was that I might ascertain as nearly as possible the date of its construction, from the nature of the geographical information which it contained. It was evident at a glance that, apart from the value attaching to it from its connection with so illustrious a name as that of Leonardo da Vinci, the map possessed an intrinsic interest in connection with the history of geography and cartography, inasmuch as it not only belonged to a period fertile in geographical discoveries, though scantily represented by maps which have come to our knowledge, but contained delineations of a stage in those discoveries not represented at all in any map with which I am acquainted. Independently of this, it happens to possess some special points of priority of information, which have led me to think it desirable to submit it, with the following notice of its contents, to the attention of the Society of Antiquaries.

The points of distinct priority which I shall hope to establish are—1st. That it is the earliest map yet made known to the world on which the name of America stands inscribed; 2ndly. That it is the earliest known map on which the severance of the western coasts of America from their previously supposed

continuity with Asia is recognised ; 3rdly. That it is the only map, as yet known, which contains an indication of the early fancied existence of a great southern continent anterior to the discovery of Magellan's Straits, after which, though at some distance of time, that supposition was assumed to be a reality, and laid down upon maps as an indefinite continuation of the then discovered land of Tierra del Fuego. In order that I may commend my own belief on these three points to the acceptance of the Society, my duty will manifestly be to show the date which I assign to the map, and the geographical grounds upon which I assign it. But, first, let me describe the map itself.^a It is drawn in eight equal parts ; each part being the eighth of a supposed globe represented in a plane ; the lines of separation being the equator, and two equi-distant meridian circles. These parts, of course, thus form equilateral triangles, each side of which is an arc of a circle, of which the opposite point is the centre. The diameter of these triangles is exactly five inches. The usually adopted form of orientation is used, as shown by the word "Cima" being placed between the four converging points at the north, and the words "La Bassa" between the corresponding points at the south. It will be seen that the scale is very small ; but, though the insertion of names of places is consequently by no means abundant, a certain amount of care has been given to the delineation of the outline of the then known parts of the world. It has no meridians or parallels of latitude ; but that is not to be wondered at, for numerous manuscript maps were made at that time, which have now disappeared, but which were drawn up, like the one before me, with the object of giving the picture of the discoveries without supplying navigators with any information as to the dangers or courses by the routes. The date which I assign to the map is 1513-1514.

It is obvious that on a map of so small a scale we cannot hope to find any points of minute interest in the delineation of those parts of the world which were at that time comparatively well known. In the easternmost parts of Asia we see the Cathay and Mangi of Marco Polo, on what is freely described as the *Sinarum Situs*, and also Marco Polo's Zipangu, here mis-spelt Zipugna, intended to represent Japan. In the South Seas we have an indication, but without names, of Sumatra and the Sunda Isles, which may have been gathered from Marco Polo, but which islands we also know from Barros and Galvão to have been visited, at the close of 1511, by the Portuguese captains Antonio de Breu and Francisco Serrão, who were sent out to Banda and Malacca by Albuquerque, and who passed along the east side of Sumatra to Java, and thence by Madura,

^a See Plates I. and II., executed by photo-lithography, and of the same size as the originals.

Bali, Sumbava, Solor, &c. to Papua or New Guinea. Thence they went to the Moluccas and to Amboyna. (See Barros, d. 3, l. 5, c. 6, p. 583; and Galvão, translated by Hakluyt, p. 378.)

The peninsula of Hindustán is laid down with tolerable correctness, not differing much, although with far fewer insertions of names, from its representation in the map of Bernardus Sylvanus of Eboli (Eboliensis) in the kingdom of Naples, of the date of 1511, when the discoveries of the Portuguese had already made them acquainted with the outline of that country. In Africa we find, as might be expected, the west coast delineated with tolerable accuracy, but with comparative emptiness of description on the eastern side; the only internal feature being the river Nile, with the river and two lakes from which it was supposed to take its source, laid down as in Ptolemy and the Portuguese maps of the time, in a latitude much nearer to the Cape of Good Hope than to the equator. But as, at the time that this map was made, the passage of the Portuguese to India by the Cape of Good Hope had become a beaten track, it is not upon the delineations either of Asia or the west coast of Africa that we need rest for evidence as to the period of its construction, unless indeed we should find amongst the few names laid down on those countries any that might betray a later period than that which we should otherwise be led to ascribe to it; but this, upon examination, proves not to be the case.

On the east coast of Africa, we have but three places mentioned, Sapall, (Sofala); Inclind, a manifest miscopying for Melinda; and Abassia or Abyssinia; but if these names be few, they are full of interest in connection with the period. Melinda was the northernmost point attained by Vasco da Gama in his northward passage along that coast. It was on the 15th of April, 1498, that he arrived there, and from that arrival may be traced the successful accomplishment of the magnificent dream that first had birth in the brain of the never-to-be-forgotten Prince Henry of Portugal, namely, the attainment of the coast of India by the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope. In the sovereign of Melinda, Da Gama found a friend and a helper beyond all price; he supplied him with a Guzerat pilot, named Malemo Cana, or Canaca, who was not only perfectly acquainted with the navigation of the Indian Ocean as known at that period, but entered into the service of the Portuguese with so much loyalty and good faith that, after leaving the coast of Africa on the 28th of April, he brought them on the 17th of May in sight of that India which had been the subject of such ardent longings and such earnest efforts on the part of his countrymen for nearly a century. It was on Sunday the 20th of May that, under the directions of his skilful pilot,

Da Gama anchored off Capocata, two leagues below Calicut. But, meanwhile, at the very time that this map was made, there was resident in Abyssinia a Portuguese, who was not only the first, since ancient times, to visit the coast of Abyssinia, but who also may be called the theoretical discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope. So great had been the desire of finding a short route to India, implanted into the Portuguese by the life-long efforts of that great glory of their nation, the noble Prince Henry, that his nephew King John the Second had determined to gain information respecting India, by means of a voyage over-land, concurrently with the expeditions which were being constantly made, with the view of tracking a course thither by way of the sea. Antonio de Lisboa, a Franciscan friar, had been dispatched for that purpose, in company with a layman, but the attempt was rendered nugatory by their ignorance of Arabic, and, after reaching Jerusalem, they were obliged to return. This disappointment only rendered King John more determined on securing his object, and he now resolved on making a double effort to accomplish it. Bartholomew Diaz had a squadron fitted out for him, with which he set sail in August, 1486, and first rounded that famous cape, to which, from the storms he had encountered, he gave the name of Cabo dos Tormentos, or Cabo Tormentoso. On the 7th of May of the next year Pedro Covilham and Alphonso de Payva, both of them well versed in Arabic, received the following orders respecting a second journey over-land : They were to discover the country of Prester John ; to trace the Venetian commerce for drugs and spices to its source ; to ascertain whether it were possible for ships to sail, round the southern extremity of Africa, to India, and to take particular information on every point relative to this important navigation ; and from Alvarez we learn that they had a sea-card given them, taken out of a general map of the world. We find from Castanheda, that Pedro de Covilham and Alphonso de Payva left Lisbon with five hundred crowns in money and a letter of credit on Naples, where, says Alvarez, their bills of exchange were paid by the son of Cosmo de' Medici. From Naples they sailed to the island of Rhodes. Then crossing over to Alexandria, they travelled to Cairo as merchants, and, proceeding with the caravan to Tor, on the Red Sea at the foot of Mount Sinai, gained some information relative to the trade with Calicut. Thence they sailed to Aden, where they parted ; Covilham directing his course towards India, and Payva towards Suakem in Abyssinia, appointing Cairo as the future place of their rendezvous. At Aden Covilham embarked in a Moorish ship for Cananore, on the Malabar coast, and, after some stay in that city, went to Calicut and Goa, being the first of his countrymen who had sailed on the Indian Ocean. He then

passed over to Sofala, on the eastern coast of Africa, and examined its gold mines, where he procured some intelligence of the Island of St. Lawrence, called by the Moors the Island of the Moon.

Covilham had now, according to Alvarez, heard of cloves and cinnamon, and seen pepper and ginger; he therefore resolved to venture no further until the valuable information he possessed was conveyed to Portugal. With this idea, he returned to Egypt; but found on his arrival at Cairo that Payva had been murdered. Here he met with two messengers from King John, whose names were Rabbi Abraham of Beja, and Joseph of Lamego; the latter immediately returned with letters from Covilham, containing, among other curious facts, the following remarkable report:—"That the ships which sailed down the coast of Guinea might be sure of reaching the termination of the continent by persisting in a course to the south; and that when they should arrive in the eastern ocean, their best direction must be to inquire for Sofala and the Island of the Moon" (Madagascar).

Rabbi Abraham and his companion had, previously to this event, visited the city of Baghdad and the Island of Ormuz, and had made themselves acquainted with many particulars respecting the spice trade. This alone was sufficient to recommend them to the patronage of King John II., and they accordingly were employed by him to seek Covilham and Payva at Cairo, with further instructions to proceed to Ormuz and the coast of Persia, in order to improve their information. Covilham eagerly embraced this opportunity to visit Ormuz, and, having accompanied Abraham to the Gulf of Persia, returned with him to Aden, whence the latter hastened to give King John an account of their tour, and Covilham embarked for Abyssinia to complete that part of his voyage which the death of Payva had hitherto frustrated.

Crossing the Straits of Babelmandeb, he landed in the dominions of the Negus. That prince took him with him to Shoa, the residence of the court, where he met with a very favourable reception, and at length he became so necessary to the prince, that he was compelled to spend the remainder of his life in Abyssinia. He married in that country, and, from occupying highly important posts, amassed a considerable fortune. It is stated by Alvarez, that when, in 1525, the Portuguese embassy, under Don Rodriguez de Lima, arrived in Abyssinia, Covilham shed tears of joy at the sight of his fellow-countrymen. He passed thirty-three years of his life in Abyssinia, and died there. His original account is not now in existence, or at least is unknown; but from the third volume of "*Bruce's Travels*" we derive the following information, although from what authority he

supplies it we are not told. He says, "Frequent despatches from him came to the King of Portugal, who, on his part, spared no expense to keep open the correspondence. In his journal Covilham described the several ports in India which he had seen; the temper and disposition of the princes; the situation and riches of the mines of Sofala. He reported that the country was very populous, full of cities both powerful and rich; and he exhorted the King to pursue with unremitting vigour the passage round Africa, which he declared to be attended with very little danger, and that the Cape itself was well known in India. He accompanied this description with a chart or map, which he had received from the hands of a Moor in India, where the Cape, and cities all around the coast, were exactly represented."

Dr. Vincent's remarks on this passage from Bruce are important. He says: (see *Periplus*, p. 197) "Whence Bruce draws this account I cannot discover; and if there was such a map among the Moors it must be a fiction, for none of them had ever passed Corrientes by sea; and cities there are none for almost 20° from Corrientes to the Cape or from the Cape for 20° to the northward on the western coast. That fictitious maps of this sort might exist, both in the Indies and Europe, among Muhammedans and Christians, is highly probable, for it was a prevailing notion in all ages that Africa was circumnavigable. We may allow even more than this, and say that the natives had gone by land much further south than the navigators by sea, and that their accounts were almost unanimous in maintaining the same assertion. Whenever I can discover the authority of Bruce it will deserve consideration; till then I shall think that if Covilham filled up the map he had received, or corrected it, or added to it such information as he could collect, it is a more probable account than the report of this Moorish map, which contained cities that never existed. Such a corrected map of Covilham's we read of in Castanheda, who seems to have seen it, as he says it was ill-written and disfigured. This I take to be the map to which Bruce alludes." In any case, it is the aforesaid letter of Covilham to King John, which, beyond all other information, affords the reason for our assigning to Covilham the honour of the theoretical discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, as the practical is to be assigned to Diaz and Da Gama; for Diaz returned without hearing anything of India, though he passed the Cape, and Da Gama did not sail till after the intelligence of Covilham had ratified the discovery of Diaz.

Thus much for the east coast of Africa. With respect to Madagascar itself we have the island laid down, but without a name. It was in 1500 that the Portu-

guese, in their reconnaissances of the coast of Zanguebar, became acquainted with the Island of Madagascar, although Marco Polo had previously spoken of it under the name of Magaster. It received its name of S. Lorenzo from the visit of the Portuguese Lorenzo Almeida, but it was not till 1506 that its coasts and capes and harbours were examined by Tristan d'Acunha. We also find, on the map, what would seem, to judge from their relative position with regard to the north point of Madagascar, the Aldabra Islands; but if the size rather than the exact position of the islands were to be accepted as a criterion, we might infer that the Comoro Isles were intended. Further north, though still without name, we find what is doubtless meant for the Mahe or Seychelles Islands. Of the Mascaren Islands there is no indication whatever. Research has hitherto been fruitless in the attempt to establish the exact date of the discovery of these islands. Various dates have been assigned, but in none of the Portuguese authors who treat of the exploits of Pedro Mascarenhas in the Portuguese conquests in India do I find any allusion to the discovery of these islands. One thing, however, is certain, although I have not found it hitherto noticed, that these islands were discovered not only before the period of the map now before us, but also before 1507, inasmuch as they are laid down in the invaluable map of Johann Ruysch, in the 1508 edition of Ptolemy, published at Rome, where Mauritius bears the name of Dinarobin, and Bourbon that of Margabin, which means "western," as rightly describing its more western position.

It is in America, the scene of active and progressive exploration, that we find the special value and interest of the map before us, as well as the means of more clearly fixing its approximate date. And first I would call attention to the fragmentary parts of North America indicated by what is represented on the map as islands, viz.: the names of Bacalar and Terra Florida. In the former name we have no difficulty in tracing the Terra de Bacalaos or country of the Codfish. The name of Bacalaos is the earliest we find applied to any part of North America subsequently to the Scandinavian voyages. It has been advanced by Father Cordeiro in his "*Historia Insulana*," that it was discovered in 1463, twenty-nine years before the first voyage of Columbus, by Joaõ Vas Cortereal, a nobleman of the household of the Infant Don Ferdinand of Portugal. Against the correctness of this statement we have the reasonable argument of the Baron von Humboldt, that, had this been the truth, so important a fact would scarcely have been omitted by Martin Behaim in the minutely detailed notes which are inserted in the globe which he constructed in 1492, and which is now at Nuremberg. The solidity of this argument is confirmed by the fact that Cordeiro makes Cortereal to

have been appointed Governor of Terceira on the 12th of April, 1464, while it is a certain fact that Jobst de Hürter, the father-in-law of Behaim, only a few years after, went to the Azores, with the rank of Governor of the Flemish colony of Fayal. The truth would rather seem to be that the name of Bacalaos, which in the Basque language means codfish, was first given to Newfoundland, and then also to the countries which they found near that island, by the Biscayan fishermen, who frequented those coasts for codfish as early as the year 1504.

The Biscayans pretend that a countryman of theirs, named Juan de Echaide, discovered the shores of Newfoundland many years before the New World was known, but there is no authority to prove it.

I now come to speak of that country which is here laid down as an island under the name of Florida. The question, as to whether England or Spain may claim the priority in the discovery of Florida, has given rise to many contradictory statements. By the English, the honour has been claimed for Sebastian Cabot; and by the Spaniards, for Ponce de Leon. Upon this subject the historian De Thou, in his "*Historia sui Temporis*," lib. xliv. 12mo, 1609, has the following remark :

"*Floridam qui primus invenerit, inter scriptores ambigitur. Hispani . . . gloriam Joanni Pontio Legionensi deferunt; . . . verum, quod et certius est, plerique affirmant, jam ante Sebastianum Gabotum . . . primum in eam Indiarum provinciam venisse.*"

But, whatever may have been the southernmost point reached by Cabot in coasting America on his return, it is certain that he did not land in Florida, and that the honour of first exploring that country is due to Juan Ponce de Leon. This cavalier, who was governor of Puerto Rico, induced by the vague traditions, circulated by the natives of the West Indies, that there was a country in the north possessing a fountain whose water restored the aged to youth, made it an object of his ambition to discover this marvellous region. With this view, he resigned the governorship, and set sail with three caravels on the 3rd of March, 1512. Steering N. $\frac{1}{4}$ N. he came upon a country covered with flowers and verdure: and, as the day of his discovery happened to be Palm Sunday, called by the Spaniards Pascua Florida, he gave it the name of Florida. He landed on the 2nd of April, and took possession of the country in the name of the King of Castile.

Cuba is here, for the first time, made an island. Columbus died in the belief not only that the newly-formed continent was part of Asia, but that Cuba was part of Japan, or the Zipangu of Marco Polo. It was not till 1508, two years

after his death, that Captain Sebastian de Ocampo proved it to be an island by sailing round it by the orders of Nicolas de Ovando.

The Isabella of our map is manifestly intended for Hispaniola, although it is mistakenly so called, as that name was originally given by Columbus to Saometo, now known as Long Island.

The other West Indian islands, not indicated by names, may all be without hesitation accepted as amongst the discoveries of Columbus.

I now come to speak of the delineation of South America on the map of Leonardo, but, as the peculiar form of the map itself renders it difficult to trace the form and sequence of all the names which I shall have to refer to, I will, for clearness' sake, take them in the order in which they occur on the north coast of South America westward from St. Augustine, and in a second series along the east coast of that continent southward from the same point.

Of Cape St. Augustine itself I will simply say that it was first seen in January, and again in April, of the year 1500 by Vicente Yañez Pinzon, Diego de Lepe, Alonzo Velez de Mendoza, and Pedro Alvarez Cabral. The word Angla, which we meet with first in passing westward from Cape St. Augustine along the northern coast of South America, is too vague to call for comment, as in Spanish it simply means "a cape," and, I may observe, differs from the similar Portuguese word "Angra," which is "a creek, bay, or station for ships."

The next name which presents itself is C. di S. Giovanni, for which I have not succeeded in finding any explanation either in history or in maps within a century and a half of the period of our map; but in the *Nova et accurata Brasiliæ totius Tabula*, by J. Blaeu, Amsterdam, 1662, and in subsequent maps, there is I. S. Juan, about 2° west of Maranham, which is about the position of the S. Giovanni of Leonardo's map.

The next name, Plaia, is doubtless the equivalent of the Portuguese word Praya, which simply signifies "a shore."

The Tanabacoa of Leonardo's map I have no difficulty in identifying with the Tamaragua of the map of Johann Ruysch, in the 1508 edition of Ptolemy, published at Rome, where it is represented as an island, which, in the "Tabula Terre Nove" by Hylacomilus, inserted in the 1513 edition of Ptolemy published at Strasburg, has its name reduced to Riqua, and is in all probability the island of Aruba.

Poriana, the name which next presents itself, is a mis-spelling for Curiana, the coast where pearls were found, and which comprised the coast of Cumaná and the Gulf of Cariaco, as is shown by a passage in the stipulation of Hojeda with the

Spanish sovereigns, where the expression occurs, "desde el parage de los Frailes, antes de la Margarita, fasta el Farallon, tierra que se llama Curiana," *i. e.* "From the neighbourhood of the Frailes (islands off the north-east coast of Margarita) to the Farallon, (probably Cape Codera,) which country is called Curiana." See Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 13. The discovery of this country had been attributed to Rodrigo Bastidas, in the voyage which he made with the pilot Juan de la Cosa, ranging from October, 1500, to September, 1502; but this claim was contested by Alonzo de Hojeda, who claimed the discovery for himself in his second voyage, which occupied from January, 1502, to January, 1503. See Apendice á la Coleccion diplomatica. Navarrete, tom. ii. p. 426. My inference that Poriana is a misspelling for Coriana or Curiana is confirmed by the circumstance that the name is repeated further westward, beyond the name "Ciribiceni," which is manifestly Point Chiriviche, off the mouth of the River Tocayo, near Porto Cabello; for beyond this same point I find a similar repetition of the name of Coriana, represented as explored in 1500 by Hojeda and Vespucci, in the valuable map of the coasts of Tierra Firme, drawn up by Colonel Codazzi to illustrate the routes of Columbus and contemporary navigators. (See Atlas fisico y politico de la Republica de Venezuela, por el Coronel Agustin Codazzi, Caraccas, 1840.)

For the intervening name, Palinmot, I find an equivalent in the Palinmete of Codazzi, occupying the same position, but not in any preceding map or book.

Areolodo is a manifest mis-spelling for Arboleda, a grove or plantation of trees. C. D. Grana occupies the position of the Peninsula of Paraguana, the Indian name of Cape San Roman, which protrudes twenty leagues into the sea. See Herrera, tom. i. p. 13, who, a few lines after, speaking of Cape de la Vela yet further west, says that it was so named by Alonzo de Ojeda when accompanied for the first time by Amerigo Vespucci, long after that coast had been discovered by "el primer Almirante" Columbus. Aldea simply signifies a village or hamlet. Its occurrence in this place agrees with the account of the Bachiller Martin Fernandez Enciso, who is said to have accompanied Bastidas in his voyage along this coast. In his Suma de Geografia, printed in 1519, the first Spanish book which gives any account of America, Enciso says, "Desde Sancta Marta vuelve la costa al sur veynte leguas y en la vuelta [del] Cabo Sancta Maria está Caria, que es la gente muy mala, y adelante está Aldea grande." The next name that we encounter in our progress westward on the map of Leonardo is Santa Marta itself, which we all know as the name of an important province lying eastward of the Rio Grande de Magdalena, and including the mountains of the same name. Vespucci and Hojeda did not sail so far westward in their voyage between May

and September, 1499; but, as just shown from Enciso's account, this coast was visited in 1501 by Rodrigo de Bastidas. Herrera describes their route thus: "I pasaron por la ribera de la Mar que aora se llâma Santa Marta i Cartagena hasta la Culata o Ensenada que es el Golfo de Urabá, dentro del qual se contiene la provincia del Darien;" *i.e.* "They passed by the coast which is now called Santa Marta and Cartagena, as far as the Culata or Ensenada, which is the Gulf of Urabá." This sentence at the same time supplies us with the explanation of the word Calata, the next which occurs on our map.

The name which next follows is exceedingly indistinct. It appears to be Arifep, my best explanation of which—and it must of necessity be conjectural—is, that it may be intended for the "Punto de Arecife," *Anglicè* Reef Point, which is given in a similar locality on the 5th Map of Kunstmann's "Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas, München, 1859," fol.

The next name is C. de S. Giovanni, which I can best illustrate by a quotation from Acosta's "Descubrimiento y colonizacion de la Nueva Granada," in which he says, "El dia 25 [de Setiembre, 1502] fondeó la expedicion en cierta isla que los indigenes llamaban Quiriviri y Colon Husita, a mas de legua y media de distancia de Cariay, poblacion que estaba situada à las margenes de un gran rio (probablemente San Juan de Nicaragua)," *i.e.* "On the 25th of September, 1502, the expedition anchored off a certain island called Quiriviri, but which Columbus called Husita, at more than a league and a half's distance from Caria, an inhabited spot on the shores of a great river (probably San Juan de Nicaragua)." The two remaining names are Angla and Mastilca. Of the former I have spoken already; of the latter I am at a loss to do otherwise than conjecture that it means the Mosquito Coast, which was visited by Columbus during his fourth voyage in the month of September, 1502. In this voyage Columbus explored the coast from Honduras to the Puerto de Mosquitos, at the western extremity of the Isthmus of Panama.

I will now speak of the names as they occur on the east coast of South America, southward from Cape St. Augustine. The first name which presents itself is Abatia. This word, which is a blunder for Bahia, an abbreviation for Bahia de todos os Santos, is, as I shall hereafter show, the most important for me of any on the face of the map, as supplying me with the most valuable link in connecting the map with the voyages of Vespucci. The next designation which occurs is that of Brazil. The name at first given to the newly-discovered land of South America was Terra de Santa Cruz, or Terra Sanctæ Crucis. The precise period of its replacement by that of Brazil is not known, but that it was

before 1507 is shown by the occurrence of the latter name in Ruysch's map, which was made in that year, although not published till 1508. The word "brazil," which properly signifies "red dyewood," was known in Europe long before the discovery of the New World, as is shown by two documents relating to tariffs of exciseable goods, inserted in Muratori's *Antiq. Ital.*, tom. ii. dissert. 30. One of them is from Ferrara, with the date of 1193; the other from Modena, with the date of 1306. In them Brazil is mentioned among other articles of merchandise. Capmany, in his excellent "*Memorias sobre la antiqua marina, comercio, y artes de Barcelona*," Madrid, 1779-92-4, published several documents in which "brazil" is mentioned, in the years 1221, 1243, 1252, and 1271. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that the red dye-wood known as brazil-wood took its name from the country now called Brazil in South America, as has been stated by Covarrubias in his "*Tesoro de la Langua Castellana*," art. Brazil. The converse was the case; for when the Portuguese discovered that that wood was growing in great quantities, and of excellent quality, in the newly-discovered country to which Pedro Alvarez Cabral had, when he first reached it in 1500, given the name of Terra de Santa Cruz, they within a very few years after gave the name of Brazil to the country itself. This same name had already been given on maps of the 15th century to an island near the Azores, which has been generally supposed to be equally imaginary with the islands of St. Brandon and Antillia, also laid down on maps of that period. (See Navarrete, tom. iii. p. 9.)

The next name, Cape S. Jorgio, I find in no contemporaneous map, nor is it alluded to by Barros; the earliest occurrence of the name that I have found is in the form of Villa de San Jorge in a corresponding position on the map of Brazil, which I have already referred to as published by Jan Blaeu, in Amsterdam, 1662; and Father Cazal mentions the place in his "*Corografia Brazilica*," but without allusion to the period at which the name was given.

The last name which occurs on the east coast of South America is Cananea, which lies in $25^{\circ} 5'$ south latitude, and by its position presents great difficulties with reference to the latitudes stated by Vespucci to have been attained by him in the last two of his four voyages. In his third voyage he asserts that he reached 52° south. In his fourth he reaches only the 18th degree. In neither of his letters does he make mention of Cananea, even as a resting-place, much less as a place of which he took possession in the name of the King of Portugal; and yet it stands as a remarkable fact, that not only on the map of Leonardo, but on the map of Ruysch, published 1508; on the *Charta Marina Portugallensium*, published 1513; and on the map of Apianus, dated 1520, and published in the

Polyhistoria of Julius Solinus, in the same year—all of which, by the repetition of a blunder, betray, as I shall have hereafter to show, a common origin from Vespucci,—this name of Cananea, with slight changes in the spelling, is given as the southernmost place on the coast, known to the compilers of those maps, as having been visited and named by any explorer. It is true that Ruysch adds a legend^a *apropos* of the third voyage of Vespucci, to the effect that the Portuguese sailors had explored this part of the land, and had reached 50° of south latitude without coming to the end of the continent; but I repeat from Vespucci himself we get no intimation of a landing at Cananea.^b This is the more remarkable as a *pedraõ* or monumental stone bearing the arms of Portugal, but without the towers in the bordure, and with the date of 1503, was discovered in 1767 by Colonel Alfonso Botelho de Sousa, in the Island of Cardoso, off the Bar of Cananea; and it is well known to have been the custom in more early days to place such boundary-marks to establish the right of possession.

And here I trust it may not be considered a fault if I have purposely refrained from touching upon the *vexata quæstio* of the authenticity of the voyages of Vespucci, a question the consideration of which entailed upon Humboldt the laborious research and deep reflection of many years, while even from his magisterial decision the distinguished French geographer the Chevalier d'Avezac, and my no less distinguished friend His Excellency Senhor F. A. de Varnhagen, still find reasons to make exceptions. Were I to allow myself to dwell either upon this or any other seductive ramification from the many points which it is my duty to touch upon, even though occasionally such digressions might seem desirable for completing the story, I should find myself writing a book instead of a simple notice of this important map from the hand of Leonardo da Vinci.

I have now examined all the portions of this map containing names indicative of actual discovery; but it possesses one feature peculiar to itself, with respect to the indications of discovery westward and northward as to the continent of America. We see nothing of North America beyond the two supposed Islands of Bacalar and Florida; nothing of the coasts of Central America beyond the shores of Honduras; and here we find the coast line erroneously continued from the Caribbean Sea into the Pacific, implying the certainty of the discovery of a separation of the newly-found continent from Asia. I feel bound to accept this

^a Nautæ Lusitani partem hanc terræ hujus observarunt et usque ad elevationem poli antarctici 50 graduum pervenerunt, nondum tamen ad ejus finem austrinum.

^b See Cazal, *Corografia Brazilica*, tom. i. p. 207.

fact as an indication of the map being posterior to the discovery of the Pacific by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, on the 25th of September, 1513. The earliest known map showing a similar indication is that of Johan Schoener printed at Bamberg, 1520, but which at the same time presents this great difference from Leonardo's map, that it contains the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico, and thus manifestly indicates a period considerably later. This one feature, therefore, I present to you as involving the latest date which, with respect to the progress of discovery, can be applied to this map. Let a fair allowance be made for the arrival of the information into Europe, and its delineation upon paper, and I think I am safe in ascribing to the map the virtual date of 1514.

I said at the commencement of this paper that this map was the earliest known, at least by me, on which was delineated the ancient notion of a great southern continent, previously to the supposed corroboration of that idea by the discovery of Tierra del Fuego in the voyage of Magalhaens, after which we find that country delineated on maps as an immense continuation of the Tierra del Fuego over the whole southern portion of the globe. The existence of a great southern land, habitable like our own, under the designation of Antichthone, —not to be confounded with the Antichthone of Pythagoras, which was a celestial body,—was admitted by Aristotle and Demosthenes. What Virgil in his first Georgic, v. 233 to 239, says on this subject,

Quinque tenent cælum zonæ: quarum una corusco
Semper sole rubens, et torrida semper ab igni;
Quam circum extremæ dextrâ lævâque trahuntur,
Cæruleâ glacie concretæ atque imbris atris.
Has inter medianque duæ mortalibus ægris
Munere concessæ divûm: via secta per ambas,
Obliquus quâ se signorum verteret ordo.

is but a translation from the *Hermes* of Eratosthenes. This opinion of a great southern continent was also entertained by the school of Alexandria, with the exception of Hipparchus and his partisans; it also recurs in the *Somnium* of Scipio, in Manilius, Mela, and Macrobius.

Thus far I have endeavoured to show what the date of this map would be if the state of geographical information laid down upon it could be accepted as a delineation by a person perfectly informed of the progress of discovery in the West; but, as this is a condition not reasonably to be presumed upon, and as nevertheless I am claiming for this map the distinction of being the first, hitherto known, containing the name of America, it is necessary that I bring evidence to

prove that if later than 1513 or 1514, it is yet earlier than 1520, the date of the earliest map previously known on which the name of America had been inserted. I have stated, without hesitation, that this map is by the hand of Leonardo da Vinci, and, if I can demonstrate this, my case is proved, for Da Vinci died on the 2nd of May, 1519. In the first place, the map occurs marked with the numbers 232b and 233a, holding the place of those numbers in an undoubted collection of papers in the handwriting of that illustrious man, in Her Majesty's library at Windsor. The history of the volume, on the cover of which are stamped the words "*Disegni di Leonardo da Vinci. Restaurati da Pompeo Leoni,*" is as follows:—

During the war with France, Leonardo spent much time with his friend Francesco Melzi at Vaprio, and his books and drawings were left in the possession of the latter in 1516, when Francis the First invited Leonardo to France. Subsequently Leonardo bequeathed them all to Melzi. A successor in the Melzi family had so little appreciation of them that he let them pass from his hands in the following manner, as abridged from the description of one of the recipients, Giovanni Ambrosio Mazzenta. (*See "Le Cabinet de l'Amateur," par E. Piot. Juin, 1861, pp. 60—64.*)

In 1587 one Lelio Gavardi, who had been a teacher in the Melzi family, found an old forgotten coffer, from which he managed to abstract thirteen volumes of MSS. and drawings, which he carried to Florence, with the view of offering them to the Grand Duke Ferdinand I. This prince, however, fell ill and died at the time of Gavardi's arrival; the latter therefore went to Pisa, where his near relative, Aldus Manutius the younger, then held the chair of Belles Lettres in the university. At that time Mazzenta was at Pisa studying law. This man reproached Gavardi on account of his ill-acquired property. The latter acknowledged his fault, and begged Mazzenta, who, having finished his studies, was returning home to Milan, to carry the volumes back with him. This he did, and restored them to the head of the family the Doctor Orazio Melzi. That gentleman was much astonished at the trouble he had taken, and made him a present of the volumes, stating that he had many more lying in boxes under the roof of his house. This being talked of caused many applications to Doctor Orazio, who consequently gave away an abundance of drawings and anatomical models and other precious relics from Leonardo's studio. Pompeo Leoni, then in great favor with Philip II, for whom he made all the gilt bronze statues which adorn the retablo of the high altar in the chapel of the Escorial, was one of these applicants. Pompeo promised Dr. Melzi many lucrative posts, and a seat in the

senate of Milan, if he could recover the thirteen volumes, and give them to him for King Philip, who was a great amateur of such curiosities. Melzi, excited with these hopes, hastened to Mazzenta's brother, who then possessed the drawings, and begged him on his knees to restore him the MSS. which he had given him. Seven of them were given back. Of the six which remained, one, presented to Cardinal Federigo Borromeo, is now in the Ambrosian Library. Another was given to Ambrosio Figini, a painter of the time, and left by him to Ercole Bianchi with the rest of his cabinet. A third was obtained by Mazzenta from his brother to give to Charles Emmanuel, Duke of Savoy, and the three others fell into the possession of Pompeo Aretino, and were afterwards sold to Galeazzo Arconati for 300 ducats. The drawings and MSS. which were recovered by Melzi, and handed over to Pompeo Leoni, were mounted by him and arranged in two great volumes. For one of these volumes now at Milan and known as the Codex Atlanticus, James I. is said to have offered 3,000 pistoles. Pompeo took the other to Spain, and there Lord Arundel endeavoured to buy it of him. At his death in 1610 it was bought by Don Juan de Espinas, and soon afterwards was acquired by Lord Arundel. (See his Letters in Tierney's History of Arundel, and in Noel Sainsbury's Rubens.) It certainly remained, Mr. Woodward informs me, in the Arundel Collection at Antwerp till 1650. (See dates on Hollar's etchings after drawings in that collection.) Most probably it was purchased by Charles II., by the advice of Sir Peter Lely, and at Lely's death forgotten. It was discovered in 1763 by Dalton, the Keeper of the King's Prints, in the same bureau at Kensington in which Queen Caroline had previously found the Holbein drawings, which came from the same collection of Lord Arundel, and were certainly bought by Charles II. (See Sketch of the History of the Royal Collection in No. II. of Fine Arts Quarterly Review, Introduction to Catalogue of Poussin's Drawings.)

A remarkable fact, which gave me the fear that I should be unable to bring to an unanswerable proof the proposition that this map was by the hand of Leonardo, has itself happily supplied that proof in a manner which I believe to be perfectly incontestable. It was the habit of Leonardo to write down his observations and memoranda from right to left in the oriental fashion. In the British Museum we have, in the Arundel Collection, a volume illustrated with numerous diagrams by him, on subjects connected with mechanical powers, written entirely in this manner, and with only a very few words written from left to right. In the library in Paris there are volumes of his writings, but these were beyond my reach, and it therefore became necessary for me to inspect for myself

the collection of his MSS. at Windsor, to see if I could find evidence that the hand-writing of the map now before me, which is written from left to right, was that of Leonardo da Vinci. I take it for granted that, even if it should be unreasonably supposed that, in a collection preserved under the circumstances already detailed, there had been some subsequent interpolations by another hand, yet the most sceptical would not deny the evidence of writing on the same page and in the same ink, both from right to left and from left to right. I found cases of this kind, of which, and others corroborative of my conclusions, I give, for the satisfaction of future investigators, the numbers in the series, viz., 212, 220, 226, 227, 230, 231, and 234.

It happened, however, that on most of these the writing was principally not in capitals, but in small letters, and, although satisfied myself, I was not content to advance those cases as evidence, because I know that, in all tests of the kind, the strongest evidence lies not in small letters, but in capitals; and it so happens that, in the map now under consideration, a considerable number of words are given entirely in capitals. At length I lighted upon a map of the Val di Chiana and surrounding country, numbered 230, *carefully drawn in colours*, with the lettering *from left to right*, and often in capitals, which at a glance I recognised as corresponding with those of the map of which I am treating. Both the careful drawing and the writing from left to right showed that the map was intended for the eyes of others. It then became a question whether this newly-discovered map could be shown beyond all doubt to be by the hand of Leonardo da Vinci. This question was speedily solved. The map thus numbered 230, was as I have said, carefully drawn in colour, the hills being in bistre and the base of them in yellow, while the great marsh formed by the river Chiana was painted in blue. On referring to number 227, I found a map of the same district, though *far less carefully drawn*, depicted in the very same colours, with the exception of the yellow, but full of writing, in Leonardo's well-known hand, *from right to left*, evidently only for his own purposes. Number 220 showed the same subject in sepia, with the writing also *from right to left*. These maps seemed to me to contain evidence sufficient to satisfy the most sceptical; but, if further evidence were wanting, it is found in the very subject of the maps themselves, which embody a fresh point of interest in connection with the marvellous genius of this highly-gifted man.

Amongst the many widely diverse branches of study which he cultivated in the pursuit both of the useful and the beautiful, there was one in which he took more than ordinary pleasure, namely, that of engineering and the science of dynamics.

Of his finished efforts in this direction the Martesana Canal, made navigable by him from Trezzo to Milan, still exists as an evidence of his far-sighted ability. If at the present day we visit the Val di Chiana, the site of that which is represented in Léonardo's map as a huge marsh, we shall find one of the most fertile districts of Tuscany, rich in corn, vineyards, and mulberry plantations, bestudded with numerous villages, and inhabited by a healthy peasantry. In fact this valley exhibits a phenomenon in the scientific modification of physical geography which is almost unique. In the early periods of the Christian era, the Chiana, then called the Clanis, was a branch of the Arno, which, separating itself from that river in the neighbourhood of Arezzo, ran into the Tiber near Orvieto. To these bifurcations a parallel case is advanced by Humboldt in the Oronoco, in South America. We learn from Tacitus that, in the time of Tiberius, it was proposed that the waters of the Clanis flowing into the Tiber should be diverted and made to flow into the Arno, in order that Rome might be saved from inundation; but the Florentines, fearing that their lands would be flooded if this plan were carried into effect, opposed it so strenuously that it was abandoned. In the process of time, the fall of the Chiana being very slow and gradually becoming slower, it formed itself into a marsh rather than a river, whose waters, stagnant in the middle, discharged themselves at the two extremities into the Tiber and into the Arno. The evil by degrees increased, till one of the most fertile provinces of Tuscany was rendered unfit for healthy habitation. Of the pernicious nature of the exhalations from this stagnant water a forcible description is given by Dante in the 29th canto of the *Inferno*, where, wishing to express the intolerable stench of the lower regions, he says :—

“ Qual dolor fora se degli spedali
 Di Valdichiana, tra 'l luglio e 'l settembre,
 E di Maremma, e di Sardigna i mali
 Fossero in una fossa tutti insembre ;
 Tal era quivi.”

The effects of this pestilential atmosphere are also described by Fazio degli Uberti, in the *Dittamondo*, L. 3, C. 10, l. 22, where, speaking of the people dwelling near Chiusi, he says :—

“ Quivi son volti pallidi e confusi,
 Perchè l'aere e la Chiana è lor nemica,
 Sicchè li fa idropici e rinfusi.”

Boccaccio also, wishing to describe a place of intolerable filthiness, uses the word “Chiane” in the plural as an illustration, thus :—“Nelle chiane di mezza

state con molta men noia dimorerebbe ogni schifo." (Laberinto, Vinegia, 1558, p. 41.) And in like manner Pulci, in his "Morgante," canto 23rd, stanza 41, uses the name of Chiana to express a marsh.

"Tutto quel giorno cavalcato avieno
Per boschi, per buron, per mille chiane."

Such was certainly the condition of the Chiana at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and it caused great anxiety to the two governments; but the efforts which were at first made to procure a discharge of the waters were utterly fruitless, until the introduction of a mode of drainage peculiar to Italian hydraulic engineering, namely, that of *colmate*. This process is effected by conducting torrents charged with alluvial matter into the marshy districts, so that the mud brought down in them is deposited. The subjacent soil thus becomes raised, and a fall for the stagnant waters is procured, so as to allow of the employment of the ordinary methods of drainage. These *colmate*, which have been long employed in Tuscany, were first recommended by Leonardo da Vinci. (Libri, Storia delle matematiche in Italia, tom. iii. p. 219.) The adoption of the principle thus recommended was due to Torricelli, but it was not applied with success to the Chiana until the close of the seventeenth century, when the engineer Ciaccheri began to put it in practice with good effect; the work went on, nevertheless, with comparative slowness under the feeble government of the last of the Medici. At length the Grand Duke Pietro Leopoldo, who neglected no means of contributing to the material well-being of his subjects, in 1788 entrusted the superintendence of this great undertaking to Count Fossombroni, for many years prime minister of Tuscany, under whose administration that country enjoyed a degree of peaceful prosperity unknown elsewhere in Italy, and to him is due the happy change already described as now visible in the lovely valley of the Chiana.

I have thus shown, I think, sufficient reasons why Leonardo da Vinci should have occupied himself with the laying down of a detailed map of the district comprising the Arno, the Tiber, and the Val di Chiana, whilst at the same time I trust that I have thereby shown the authenticity of the map of the world now before us, as being from the hand of Da Vinci himself. The question naturally arises as to whether any link can be traced to connect Da Vinci with the subject of general cosmography, so as to explain the circumstance of a map of the world having been delineated by him.

I must here observe that the map shows indications of having been first drawn in pencil, suggesting the great likelihood of its being a copy from the work of another, and it would seem that the map from which it was copied was laid down

by an Italian, since the names in Spanish are not only Italianised in the spelling, but are in some cases so grossly mis-spelt as to indicate misreading of names from their form as written in Spanish, and in others the misapprehension of the form of name as uttered *vivâ voce*. Of the first kind of mis-spelling we have examples: in the word "Inclind," on the east coast of Africa, a manifest mis-spelling for "Melinda," the three strokes of the "M" being mistaken for "In," and the "e" for a "c." "Areolodo," on the north coast of South America, for "Arboleda," the third letter, "b," of the Spanish being mistaken for an "e." Of the latter kind we have an instance in the sound of "Mosquito," on the coast of Honduras, being altered into "Mastilca," and "Tamaragua" into "Tanabacoa." Now, although I am not prepared to show to a certainty—as indeed I should be very fortunate if I could—from whose map this copy was made by Leonardo, yet I am able to present a series of facts of the highest interest with reference to the cosmography of the day, and which at the same time show a connection between Leonardo and Amerigo Vespucci.

During the residence of Leonardo da Vinci at Florence, he was engaged for four years, probably from 1500 to 1504, on what, as a portrait, has been considered his *chef-d'œuvre* (although he himself was dissatisfied with it as incomplete), namely, that of Mona Lisa, the wife of a nobleman of Ferrara, named Francesco Giocondi. This picture, formerly at Fontainebleau, now at the Louvre, was purchased by Francis the First for 12,000 francs. It is a perfect marvel of life-like expression, and it is recorded by Vasari that Leonardo took such interest in bringing it to perfection, that it was his habit to provide dancers and buffoons to amuse the lady during her sittings, so as to throw animation into a face which otherwise, though very beautiful, had somewhat too great a tendency to pensiveness. Francesco Giocondi was an intimate friend of Leonardo, and it was at the earnest request of the latter that permission was given by the former, for this more than ordinarily elaborated portraiture of his wife. Furthermore, during this period, Leonardo enjoyed the especial patronage and friendship of Pietro Soderini, Gonfaloniere of Florence, who, in his youth, had been a schoolfellow of Amerigo Vespucci, under the tutelage of Vespucci's uncle, Georgio Antonio Vespucci, as we find particularly mentioned by the antiquary Giuliano Ricci, as quoted in Bandini's Life of Vespucci.

Now, when Vespucci was at Seville in 1501, we find from a statement in a letter descriptive of his third voyage, addressed to Soderini, that one Giuliano, son of Bartolommeo Giocondi, then resident at Lisbon, was sent to him by Don Manoel, King of Portugal, to induce him to exchange the service of the King of Spain for that of Portugal; in which mission Giocondi was successful. In another

letter describing the same third voyage, written originally by Vespucci in Spanish, but translated into Italian and Latin, we find at the end of the Latin version, printed at Augsburg in 1504, the words "ex Italica in Latinam linguam Jocundus interpres hanc epistolam vertit," and at the close of the Italian version of the same letter, printed with the "Paesi novamente ritrovati" at Vicenza, 1507, are the words, "De Spagnola in lingua Ro. et Jocôdo interprete, questa epistola ha traducta." This member of the Giocondi family was supposed by Humboldt to have been identical with the just mentioned Giuliano, son of Bartolommeo (whom, *i. e.* Giuliano, he incorrectly calls Bartolommeo) Giocondi. In this very natural and reasonable conjecture, however, the illustrious Humboldt was in error. Meusel more correctly says, "Auctor versionis fuisse dicitur Jocundo sive Johann Giocondi;" and Brunet likewise, in his "Manuel de Libraire," is right in stating "On croit que le 'Jocondus interpres,' dont il a été question ci-dessus, est Giov. Giocondi." It is thus seen, that both Meusel and Brunet, though right, speak with uncertainty as to the identity of this Giocondi who made the translation. It has been my good fortune to see a rare and possibly unique work, purchased by the British Museum within the last few weeks, which tells us distinctly who this translator was. This work, entitled "Speculi orbis succinetiss. sed neque pœnitenda neque inelegans declaratio et canon." consists of only four leaves. It is written by Walter Lud, canon of the cathedral of St. Dié in Lorraine, and secretary to René II., Duke of Lorraine and titular King of Jerusalem and Sicily, to whom it is dedicated with the date of 1507. In it, speaking of the aforesaid letter of Vespucci descriptive of his third voyage, he says, that it was "per Jocundum Veronensem qui apud Venetos architecti munere fungitur, ex Italico in Latinum sermone verso."

This information enlightens us completely as to the person in question, who was the celebrated Fra Giocondi, a native of Verona, and highly distinguished as an architect at Venice, and, furthermore, was, at the very period when Leonardo was at work on the portrait of Mona Lisa, engaged in the service of Louis the Twelfth, and built the bridge of Nôtre Dame at Paris, which is at present standing, together with, as some had supposed, the *petit pont* in continuation, crossing the southern branch of the Seine. This supposition was drawn from the following couplet by Sannazaro—

"Jocundus geminum imposuit tibi, Sequana, pontem,
Hunc tu jure potes dicere Pontificem;"

but it has been since disproved.

Fra Giocondi was also as remarkable for his skill in the classical languages as for his scientific and artistic attainments, which, together with the probability of his family connection with the above-named Giuliano Giocondi, will explain the reasonableness of his having the letter of Vespucci placed in his hands for translation. It is not improbable that Giuliano Giocondi was connected with the Florentine mercantile house of Berardi at Seville, of which Vespucci had in 1496 been the manager. Francesco Giocondi, the husband of Mona Lisa, it is true, was a native of Ferrara; but the long period of four years, during which Leonardo da Vinci was engaged on the portrait of his wife, shows that he was a resident of Florence at the time when the discoveries of the Florentine Vespucci were there followed with the keenest curiosity and pride. Although these facts, however, do not prove to demonstration a connection between Leonardo and the interest in geographical explorations thus represented by Giuliano and Fra Giovanni Giocondi, yet I offer them for *quantum valeant*, and think they are not without their suggestive importance. It is also worth mentioning that we learn from Vasari that Leonardo made a portrait of Vespucci in charcoal, which is described as being that of a very handsome old man. This portrait is now unknown.

I have stated that the letter I have just been speaking of was intended for Soderini, and so it is shown to be, not only from the tenor of the address at its commencement, but by the fact that it was afterwards printed by Ramusio, and later by Bandini, with the name of Soderini at the head of it. It is however not the less true that it was first printed with the name of Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici. In a valuable letter from Professor Ranke to the Baron Von Humboldt, upon the subject of this simultaneous correspondence of Vespucci with Soderini and Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici, we are informed who this latter personage was. He belonged to the younger branch of the Medici family, which, although equally wealthy with the elder branch, had no share in the power experienced by the latter. After the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent, in 1492, Pietro de' Medici, who assumed the reins of government at Florence, by various affronts alienated from him all his cousins of the younger branch, and a deadly rivalry between the two branches was the consequence. The opposition of the younger branch was most remarkably shown on the invasion of Charles VIII., when Pietro de' Medici allied himself with the King of Naples, while his cousins entered upon negotiations with France, and received the ambassadors of that country. At the very time when the victories and the successes of Charles the VIII. were exciting great discontent among the people at Florence, these movements were encouraged by the younger branch of the Medici, and Lorenzo

di Pierfrancesco in particular, whose partisans adopted the name of Popolani. The family of Soderini had for a long time been regarded as the adherents of the elder branch of the Medici, and in fact no citizen of Florence had rendered greater services to the father and grandfather of Pietro de' Medici than had Tommaso Soderini; but these services were forgotten by Pietro de' Medici, who neglected and treated with disdain the children of Tommaso. The latter in consequence made common cause with the younger branch of the Medici, had a share in the revolution of the 9th of November, 1494, which overthrew the elder branch, and took an active part in the republican system of government which followed on these popular movements. It is true that at a later period there arose some slight disagreement between the Soderini and the Popolani, and that Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco was not pleased with the nomination in 1502 of Pietro Soderini, the son of Tommaso, to the rank of Gonfaloniere of Florence; yet, in the main, the political interests of the Soderini and the younger branch of the Medici remained united. Now it can be further proved that the Vespucci themselves belonged to the republican party of Florence. Guidantonio Vespucci, of whom Bandini speaks at p. xvi., was closely mixed up with the movements of this party. After the expulsion of Pietro de' Medici in 1494, he at first sat, together with Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco, among the twenty *accoppiatori* of the first magistrate (Nerli, *Commentarii de fatti civili di Firenze*, p. 59), and afterwards himself became Gonfaloniere. The political connection of the Vespucci with the younger branch of the Medici is further confirmed by a letter written from Pistoja, in 1494, by Pietro Vespucci to Lorenzo de' Medici, (See Bandini, p. xv.) who is most probably the identical Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco, to whom Amerigo Vespucci addressed some of his letters during his long absence from Italy. This connection of Amerigo with the republican party at Florence is by no means difficult to comprehend. Even Francesco Lotti, who is mentioned by Vespucci in the narrative of his second voyage, and by whom he proposed to send a mappemonde to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco, was in 1529 member of an administration entirely hostile to the Medici of the elder branch. The title of Magnifico sometimes given by Vespucci to Lorenzo is easily intelligible, for, as it had always been conceded without opposition to the elder branch, it might readily be applied to the younger branch also on account of the important position they now held in connection with the affairs of state. Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco died in 1503, and in this fact the Baron Von Humboldt finds a difficulty, on the score of this narrative of the third voyage having been written, as he says, after the fourth voyage, which was finished in June, 1504, for which he advances as evidence the expression "*Peraventura vi aggiugneró la quarta*

giornata," as if it were already completed; now this inference is not for a moment tenable, for the next words following, in this narrative of his third voyage, are, "Ho in animo di nuovo andare a cercar quella parte del mondo che riguarda mezzogiorno;" and, what is still more important, this letter was written three years earlier than, and of course quite independently of, the collective four voyages addressed to Soderini under date of the 4th September, 1504. This confusion removed, the difficulty disappears, for the true date of the independent narrative of the third voyage was probably at the close of 1502; and certainly before Vespucci's departure on his fourth voyage on the 10th of May, 1503.

So much for a probable personal connection between the two distinguished Florentines,^a Leonardo da Vinci and Amerigo Vespucci. I will now proceed to show a yet further connection between the map of the former and the writings of the latter—a connection the certainty of which is established by that surest of all tests, the repetition of a blunder. It has been seen that on the east coast of South America occurs the word Abatia, the real interpretation of which is the well-known name of Bahia de todos os Santos. It is fortunate, for the avoidance of prolixity, that the examination of the origin of this blunder leads us, at the same time, into the history of the first suggestion of the name of America, which was otherwise a point of interest that would have to be dealt with in connection with the prominent peculiarity which I claim for Leonardo's map.

But, before I commence my narrative, I will for clearness' sake state, as briefly as possible, the dates of the earliest manuscript and engraved maps on which the new world is delineated, as well as the date of the first suggestion of the name of America, the date of the first adoption of that suggestion, and the date of the first map hitherto known on which that name was inserted.

Until the year 1832, the earliest known manuscript map containing the delineation of America was one of the date of 1527, now in the military library at Weimar; it is earlier by two years than the map of Diego Ribero, in the same library. In 1832, however, was discovered the now famous map of the pilot Juan de la Cosa, who accompanied Columbus in his second voyage in 1493, and Hojeda and Vespucci in their expedition of 1499. It was this Juan de la Cosa of whom, according to the testimony of Bernardo de Sbarra, in a suit against Diego Columbus, the admiral complained that being "hombre habil, andaba diciendo que sabia mas que él." In this map, which is dated 1500, we find the earliest known delineation of the new world.

^a I do not hesitate to call Leonardo a Florentine, as Vinci, his native place, was but five leagues west of Florence.

It was in May of 1507, just one twelvemonth after the death of Columbus, that one Martin Waldseemüller, whose name is strangely Hellenized into Hylacomilus, produced a little work, entitled "*Cosmographiæ Introductio*," to which was appended a Latin translation of the four voyages of Vespucci. In this book, which was printed at the small town of St. Dié, in Lorraine, and was one of the only two works known to have been printed at that place (of which I shall have presently to speak more fully), he proposes that the name of America should be given to the new world. His suggestion is offered in the following words:—"Et quarta orbis pars, quam, quia Americus invenit, Amerigen, quasi Americi terram, sive Americam nuncupare licet." And a few pages later he says:—"Nunc vero et hæc partes sunt latius lustratæ, et alia quarta pars per Americum Vesputium, ut in sequentibus audietur, inventa est, quam non video cur quis jure vetet ab Americo inventore, sagacis ingenii viro, Amerigen, quasi Americi terram sive Americam dicendam, cum et Europa et Asia a mulieribus sua sortita sint nomina. Ejus situm et gentium mores ex his binis Americi navigationibus quæ sequuntur liquidè intelligi dant." In September of the same year appeared a re-issue at St. Dié of this same book, and in 1509 a new edition of it was issued from the printing-press of the celebrated printer Johann Grüninger.

In 1508, in an edition of Ptolemy published at Rome, appeared the first engraved map containing the new world, by Johann Ruysch. It does not bear the name of America; but it is proved, in common with Leonardo's map, to have had a Vespuccian origin, for it contains the remarkable word *Abbatia*, of which I have spoken already, and shall have presently to speak more fully.

In 1509 the name of America, proposed by Hylacomilus in 1507, appears, as if it were already accepted as a well-known denomination, in an anonymous work entitled "*Globus Mundi*," printed at Strasburg in that year. This was three years before the death of Vespucci.* Although, as Humboldt says, this work is anonymous, yet from the colophon I have discovered, if not the author, at any rate from what quarter the book emanated. It runs thus, "*Ex Argentina ultima Augusti, 1509. J. Grüniger imprimebat, Adelpho castigatore.*" Now, this Adelphus was a physician, a native of Mühlingen, near Strasburg, who afterwards established himself in that city. But I have but just said that in this self-same year, 1509, a re-issue of the "*Cosmographiæ Introductio*," containing the first suggestion of the name of America, appeared from the press of this same

* The work has been erroneously attributed by Panzer to Henricus Loritus Glaucanus, born in 1488, author of "*Geographiæ Liber*." Basil, 1527.

Johann Grüniger, with the following words in the colophon, "Johanne Adelpho Mulicho, Argentinensi, castigatore." Mulicho simply means native of Mühlingen. The coincidence suggests the suspicion that Hylacomilus, the author of the suggestion, is the author also of its adoption; but, in any case, I think that the idea presented to the mind by Humboldt of the denomination being well known on account of its insertion in the "*Globus Mundi*," receives a serious modification, for the original suggestion and its adoption two years later are thus shown to emanate, almost to a certainty, from the same quarter.

The first place in which we find the name of America used a little further a-field, is not, as has hitherto been stated by Humboldt and others, in the Pomponius Mela of 1522, but in the edition of that work of 1518. The passage itself is to the following effect:—"Si Americam a Vespuccio repertam et eam Eoæ Terræ partem quæ terræ a Ptolemæo cognitæ adjecta est ad longitudinis habitatæ rationem referimus, longè ultra hemisphærium habitari terram constat," and occurs in a letter addressed by the editor Joachim Vadianus to Rudolphus Agricola at the end of his commentary on the ancient geographer, and this letter is dated from Vienna, 1512. But, although this Vadianus, whose real name was Joachim Watt, writes from Vienna in that year, I find that he was a native of St. Gall, whence in 1508, being then twenty-four years old, he went to the High School at Vienna. His learned disputations and verses gained him the chair of the Professorship of the Liberal Arts at that school, and he subsequently studied medicine, of which faculty he obtained the doctorate. This attachment to the study of medicine recalls to my mind a fact which awakens a suspicion that he may have been a personal friend of John Adelphus just referred to, and if so of the little confraternity of St. Dié. Before Adelphus established himself in Strasburg he had practised as a physician at Schaffhausen, and this at the time when Joachim Watt was a young man still resident in his native town of St. Gall, which is distant from Schaffhausen seventy English miles, a distance which would offer very little hindrance to Swiss intercommunication. Whether this suspicion be worth anything or no, I advance it as a possible clue to yet further researches which may show the process by which this spurious appellation of America became adopted through the efforts of a small cluster of men in an obscure corner of France.

The first map of the New World, either engraved or manuscript, hitherto known with the name of America inserted on it, is a mappemonde by Appianus bearing the date of 1520, annexed to the edition by Camers of the *Polyhistoria* of Julius Solinus (*Viennæ Austr.* 1520), and a second time to the edition of Pomponius Mela, by Vadianus, printed at Basle in 1522.

Having thus laid before you the leading points of priority in connection with our subject, some of them as hitherto accepted and others newly discovered by myself, I will proceed with my story.

In September, 1504, Amerigo Vespucci indited an account of his four voyages, which Humboldt, influenced by the fact of the Italian containing many Italianized Spanish words, felt convinced was originally written in Spanish. For my own part, I am bold to confess that this fact conveys to me an exactly contrary conviction, and in that conviction I am supported by the opinions of many learned friends whom I have consulted, and who, without a single exception, agree with me in the belief that the letters were written originally by Vespucci himself in Italian; and that the thirty-three purely Spanish, and about one hundred and forty Italianized Spanish or Portuguese words, which occur in the letters, are the result of his almost uninterrupted habit of speaking Spanish or Portuguese during the previous twelve years. Of the correctness of this judgment we have collateral evidence in the effect upon the Italian language of the introduction of Spaniards at the court of Charles V. at Milan, thus ironically spoken of by Ariosto in his Satire (Ariosto, Satira 3, a Messer Galasso Ariosto):—

Signor, dirò, non s'usa più fratello,
Poichè la vile adulazion Spagnola
Mess' ha la signoria fin in bordello,
Signor, se fosse ben mozzo da spola,
Dirò, fate per Dio che monsignore
Reverendissimo oda una parola.
Agora non se puede, et es megliore
Che vos torneis a la magnana; almeno
Fate ch'ei sappia ch'io son quì di fuore,
Risponde che'l padron non vuol gli sieno
Fatte imbasciate se venisse Pietro,
Paol, Giovanni e'l mastro Nazareno.

I am further confirmed in my conclusion that the letters were originally written in Italian by the fact that, whereas every one of the numerous editions in various languages, either of the separate third voyage or of the four voyages collectively, declares from what language it had been translated, the Italian edition of the four voyages, printed without date or year, but almost certainly in the first decade of the sixteenth century, makes no allusion to any translation at all, while the earliest edition, a Latin one, which does announce itself as a translation, declares it to be from the Italian into French, and from the French into Latin. This question is not unimportant in connection with the blunder in the word *Abbatia*, for, while Humboldt argues that “it is easier to

convert through ignorance the equally Spanish and Portuguese word 'Bahia' into 'Abbaye' than the Italian word 'Baia,' unless the Latin translator had simply translated by mistake 'Abbaye' for 'Baie,' I venture to maintain, in conformity with what I have already advanced, that Vespucci wrote in his original Italian letter the Portuguese word "Bahia," with the Italian conclusion of the name "de tucti e sancte." Humboldt, it would seem, had never seen the early separate Italian edition of these four voyages, a copy of which is in the Grenville Library, but he had seen the reprint of the same in Bandini's "Life and Letters of Vespucci;" for on page 159 of vol. iv. he quotes the passage in question as having the form of "La Badia," and so, in fact, it stands in the Grenville Library edition. And in this very form we have the explanation of the whole blunder. It is easily intelligible how Vespucci, whose Italian abounds in Italianized Spanish and Portuguese words, should, when writing in Italian the Portuguese name "Bahia de todos os santos," describe it as "Bahia (not the Italian 'Baia') de tucti e sancte;" and it is equally easy to understand how the printer should misread an "h" for a "d," and thus convert "La Bahia" into "La Badia." Whereas, had the original been Spanish, and then translated into Italian, we should naturally have had the pure Italian word "Baia," which would never by any blunder have led to "La Badia" or anything like it. The translator from the Italian into the French, finding nothing in the word "Badia" to suggest to his mind the idea of a bay, gives it its literal rendering of "Abbaye," and hence, when translated into Latin, comes in due course the word "Abbatia." An additional reason for supposing that the original was written in Italian is, that the early Italian edition in the Grenville Library is prefaced by an address to a person whose name is omitted, but who is proved to be Pietro Soderini, Gonfaloniere of Florence, by the following concurrent points of evidence. Vespucci, in this address, reminds the person that he is writing to, that "nel tempo della nostra gioventù, vi ero amico, e hora servidore: e andando a udire i principii di grammatica sotto la buona vita e dottrina del venerabile religioso frate di S. Marco, fra Giorgio Antonio Vespucci, mio zio; i consigli e dottrina del quale piacesse a Dio che io avesse seguitato, che come dice il Petrarca: Io sarei altro huomo da quel che io sono. Quomodocunque sit, non mi dolgho; perche sempre mi sono dilettrato in cose virtuose; e anchora che queste mie patragne^a non siano convenienti alle virtù vostre, vi diro, como dixè Plinio a Mecenate;^b voi solavate

^a In this word "patragne," which means "fabulous stories," in Spanish, "patrañas," we have an example of Vespucci's Italianized Spanish.

^b He should have said, "Catullus to Cornelius Nepos."

in alcun tempo pigliare piacere delle mie ciancie. Anchora che vostra Mag. stia del continuo occupata né pubblici negotii, alchuna hora piglierete di scanso consumare un poco di tempo nelle cose ridicole o dilectevoli." He states also that the bearer of these letters Benvenuto Benvenuti is "nostro Fiorentino, molto servitore di vostra magnificenza e molto amico mio," and the fourth letter concludes with a recommendation of the writer's brother and family to the protection of the person addressed in the following terms:—"E vi raccomando Ser Antonio Vespucci mio fratello e tucta la casa mia. Resto rogando Dio che vi accresca i dí della vita e che s'alzi lo stato di cotesta eccelsa Rep. e l'onore di V. M. Data in Lisbona adí 4 di Settembre, 1504."

Now we know from the antiquary Giuliano Ricci that Soderini *had been* a schoolfellow of Vespucci, and what I have read is otherwise sufficient in itself to show that the letters were addressed to Pietro Soderini, but the fact is further confirmed by Soderini's name being placed at the head of these letters forty-three years later by Ramusio in his reprint of them in the first volume of the "*Navigazioni e Viaggi*" in 1550, and also by Bandini in his later reprint in 1745, it being presumable that they had seen the original letter with Soderini's name placed at the head of the address. Who, then, will doubt that to Soderini Vespucci would naturally write in Italian? But while it is thus shown to be certain that Soderini was the person thus addressed—a fact upon which I have dwelt for the sake of showing one more incidental link between Leonardo da Vinci, whose patron and friend Soderini was, and Vespucci—another fact that is not so easily intelligible is equally certain, and of the greatest importance to our subject. Forty-three years before these letters and that address became placed before the world with Soderini's name attached to them, we find them published in Latin so early as 1507, with the address in the very same identical terms with respect to the writer and the person addressed having been schoolfellows, but headed with the name of René, Duke of Lorraine and King of Jerusalem and Sicily. This remarkable fact is surrounded with mystery. What the relationship was between Duke René and Vespucci I have been unable to trace, but the false glorification of both was unquestionably given forth to the world in print in the lifetime not only of Vespucci and Duke René, but of Soderini also. It was under the auspices of Duke René II. that these four letters were printed, as already stated, at St. Dié in Lorraine, with the dedication of the above-mentioned address of Vespucci to the Duke, preceded by a *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, in which was offered the first suggestion of giving to the New World the name of America. That this was

a false glorification of Vespucci to the prejudice of his friend and captain the illustrious and much-injured Columbus, whether intentional or not, has been demonstrated by Humboldt in a manner which is as honourable to his impartiality as it is to his vast learning and untiring industry. That it was a false glorification of the Duke is highly presumable from the extreme improbability that an address, involving personalities unquestionably applicable to Soderini, should be equally applicable in the very same terms to the reigning Prince of Lorraine. It is true that M. Beaupré in his "*Etudes sur l'Imprimerie*," Saint Nicolas de Port, 1845, p. 81, advances arguments to the following effect to show the possibility of Duke René having, in fact, been, as well as Soderini, a schoolfellow of Vespucci. He says, "Is it so unlikely that René II., when young, should have accompanied his father Ferry de Vaudemont into Italy either in 1460, when he was sent by René I. to the help of John of Calabria, or in 1463, when Ferry followed that prince, his brother by alliance and his sovereign, in the last expedition which was attempted by the House of Anjou to reconquer the kingdom of Naples?" And he further suggests that no city would be so convenient either for the education or the safety of the youthful prince as Florence.

This argument of M. Beaupré's is at the best but the advancement of a possibility of very little probability, for, in mentioning the schoolfellows of Vespucci, is it reasonable that the antiquary Giuliano Ricci should have omitted the name of a person so high in rank, and who had otherwise subsequently rendered himself so distinguished in history by his conflicts with Charles the Bold, as King René, Duke of Lorraine? But, whether truth or falsehood be at the bottom of this presumed and publicly announced connection between Vespucci and the Duke, I will proceed to a description of the details by which the letters of the former came to be printed under the auspices of the latter.

The Duke's secretary was one Walter Lud, of whom I have already had occasion to speak, Canon of the Cathedral of St. Dié, a small city on the banks of the Meurthe within the Duke's dominions. A zealous friend of literature, this worthy priest established a gymnasium or college at St. Dié, and, what is still more remarkable, he there set up also a printing press. The professor of Latin at the college was a young man of great abilities, named Mathias Ringmann, better known in the literary world by the pseudonym of Philesius, with the adjunct of Vosgesigena in allusion to his having been born either at Schlestadt or in a little village near it, on the eastern side of the Vosges mountains. This Ringmann was corrector of the press in Walter Lud's printing office. Another important

personage in this little confraternity was Martin Waldseemüller, or Hylacomilus, for the first discovery of whose identity we are indebted to the unflagging zeal of the Baron von Humboldt. He was a native of Fribourg in Brisgau, and entered as student at the famous academy of that place on the 7th of December, 1490. Going in the vintage season in 1504, in conformity with an annual habit of his, to eat grapes in Lorraine, he became so charmed with the society of his learned friends at St. Dié, that he made up his mind to take up his abode there, and became a teacher of geography at the gymnasium. Now, I cannot but deem myself exceedingly fortunate that the possibly unique work of Walter Lud, the "*Speculum Orbis*," to which I have referred, should have been purchased for the British Museum at the very time that I was engaged in preparing this paper. One sentence from this opusculum not only brings before us the little group of fellow-labourers each in his own place, but will throw a light, which has till now been wanting, on the history of the publication of the letters of Vespucci.

After speaking of the "*ignota terra per Lusitaniæ regem pridem inventa*," he says, "*De quâ orâ plura et veriora in Ptholomæo per nos et Martinum Ilacomylum talium rerum scientissimum cum multis additamentis recognito (quem nostris impensis mox Christo favente imprimemus) videre licebit. Quarum etiam regionum descriptionem ex Portugalliâ ad te, illustrissime Rex Renate, Gallico sermone missas, Jo. Basinus Sendacurius insignis poeta a me exoratus, quâ pollet elegantîâ, Latinè interpretavit. Et circumferunt bibliopolæ passim eâ de re nostri Philesii Vogesigenæ quoddam epigramma in libello Vespucii per Jo-cundum Veronensem qui apud Venetos architecti munere fungitur ex Italico in Latinum sermonem verso impressum quod his subicere libuit.*" From this we learn that the French version of the letters of Vespucci, intended for King René, and which was probably in manuscript—for no copy in type has ever been heard of—was prepared in Lisbon, under the eye of Vespucci himself, by which the seal of his sanction was given to the claim of early school-boy intimacy, at first addressed in Italian to Soderini but now transferred, without any change except that of translation, to the Duke of Lorraine. We further learn, and that now for the first time, that the translator from the French to the Latin was not, as has been hitherto supposed upon Humboldt's conjecture, Mathias Ringmann, otherwise known as Philesius, but the "*insignis poeta*," Jean Basin de Sandacourt, also a canon of St. Dié. If his poetry were not superior to his latinity, it must be confessed that his worthy friend Walter Lud must either have been a very warm friend indeed, or a very incompetent critic,

unless, which is inconceivable, he spoke in irony of the "quâ pollet elegantia" of his really barbarous translation.

But further, we have in this extract from the "Speculum Orbis," an intimation that our little cluster of friends were bent upon the production of an edition of Ptolemy. Walter Lud wrote his "Speculum" in 1507, but it was not till six years after, in 1513, that the great and really valuable work thus promised appeared. In a letter addressed to Essler and Ubelin, the editors of this edition, by Giovanni Francesco Pico di Mirandola, under date of Como, 1508, we have evidence of two journeys made into Italy by Ringmann in connection with the subject of Ptolemy, and in the same letter we have evidence of the manner in which the discoveries of Vespucci were lauded, to the exclusion of those of Columbus. He says: "Cujus viri (Ptolomæi) diligentia pleraque vos adhibituros retulit Philsius: inter quæ illa cum Ptolomæo ipsi, tum cæteris ignota scriptoribus, nostra ætate miro divinæ providentiæ munere, Lusitana classe reperta. Quâ de re ut indicam illam navigationem subsignaremus, nuper in nostro ad Christum hymno nostris etiam interpretamentis patefacto ita cecinimus:

" Quin et Ulysseo nuper de littore solvens
Nauta per infidum pelagus, per atlantica regna
Discurrens: viridique jugo post terga relicto
Arctoi relegens contraria sidera currus:
Pertulit eos tua Rex vexilla sub Indos."

The "Lusitana classe reperta" is all in Vespucci's honour, while Columbus is utterly ignored.

In another letter from the editors of the 1513 edition of Ptolemy to the Emperor Maximilian, we find that Pico de Mirandola gave Ringmann a Greek manuscript of Ptolemy, and that this was before the appearance of the suggestion of the name of America in 1507 is shown by an expression in the dedication of the very book containing the suggestion. In it Hylacomilus says that he had lately established a library or book-shop (*librariam officinam*), and that there he had been laboriously occupied in the critical examination, both of a Greek manuscript of Ptolemy, and of the edition of the four voyages of Vespucci. Whether it was in the first or the second journey of Ringmann to Italy that he received this manuscript from Pico de Mirandola I am unable to show, but it appears probable that his first journey was several years before the second, and that in it he caught the enthusiasm in favour of Vespucci from communication with the more justifiably enthusiastic compatriots of that navigator. I derive this inference from a remark in my extract from the *Speculum Orbis* of Walter Lud,

which says that a poem by Ringmann, which appeared in the *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, was also inserted in an edition of the third voyage translated by Fra Giovanni Giocondi four or five years before, as already described. In the absence of a known reason for a connection between King René and Vespucci, may it not be traced on the one side from this intercourse of Ringmann with the Italian connections of Vespucci,—among whom we must, upon grounds already shown, reckon Leonardo da Vinci,—and on the other from the intimate relationship of Walter Lud with the prince in his character of secretary; combined with the manifest glorification of each and of all of them, by the confraternity at St. Dié fixing upon Vespucci the honour of the discovery of the new world, by the suggestion of the name of America in widely disseminated printed works purposely dedicated to their princely patron?

From the dates of the letter of Pico de Mirandola to the editors, and of another from Lilio Gregorio Giraldi to Ringmann himself in September, 1508, we may presume that the preparation of the edition of Ptolemy was, at that time, going on in full vigour; but King René died in December of that year, and the consequence was that the printing-press at St. Dié was broken up, and Ringmann went home to Schlestadt, where he died in 1511, at the early age of twenty-nine. It is probable that his withdrawal from the work may have caused the delay in the production of the contemplated edition of Ptolemy till 1513. When that work appeared, however, it contained a new map, entitled *Tabula Terre Nove*, by Hylacomilus, on which, strange to say, the name of America does not appear, but, on the contrary, there is inserted on the very continent of South America the following legend: “*Hec terra cum adjacentibus insulis inventa est per Columbum Januensem ex mandatis Regis Castellæ.*” No fact more strongly than this could demonstrate the falsehood embodied by this very man in the suggestion of the name of America, for this sentence is in direct contradiction of the only basis upon which he could have pretended to have given this honour to Vespucci. In the 1522 edition of Ptolemy, which I have not had an opportunity of seeing, there appears to be a repetition of a *mappe-monde* by Hylacomilus inserted in the 1513 edition, with the addition, on that of 1522, of the name of America, for a long time considered the first insertion of that name on any map.

These various facts, I submit, offer an explanation of the connection between Vespucci at Lisbon and the suggestion and adoption of the name of America for the western world, as well as between both these and Leonardo da

Vinci, on whose map we now find that name inserted at a period earlier than on any other map with which we are as yet acquainted.

I ought scarcely to close this paper without one word of homage, however feebly uttered, to the colossal genius of the wonderfully-gifted man who has now in a manner been brought in presence before us. Of distinguished personal beauty, with bodily strength so great that he could bend a horse-shoe with his hands as if it were lead, he possessed a comprehensive and effective grasp of intellect which I believe we may look for in vain elsewhere amongst the sons of men. Before I be blamed for this apparently audacious statement, let it be remembered that his vast collections of manuscript notes in that uninviting handwriting of his from right to left, have not as yet been laid before the world in print. But if only the statements made by Venturi, in his *Essai sur les Ouvrages physico-mathématiques de Leonard de Vinci*, Paris, 1797, based upon the examination of a portion of Leonardo's papers be correct, I respectfully but confidently repeat my eulogium. But, lest I be deemed presumptuous, let me quote the words of one to whom all will listen with deference. Hallam, in his *Literature of Europe*, vol. i. p. 216, says as follows: "His Treatise on Painting is known as a very early disquisition on the rules of the art. But his greatest literary distinction is derived from those short fragments of his unpublished writings that appeared not so many years since, and which, according at least to our common estimate of the age in which he lived, are more like revelations of physical truths vouchsafed to a single mind than the superstructure of its reasoning upon any established basis." The discoveries which made Galileo and Kepler, and Mæstlin and Maurolycus, and Castelli and other names illustrious, the system of Copernicus, the very theories of recent geologists, are anticipated by Da Vinci within the compass of a few pages, not perhaps in the most precise language, or on the most conclusive reasoning, but so as to strike us with something like the awe of preternatural knowledge.

But let facts be my sanction. "In an age of so much dogmatism," as Hallam again remarks, "he first laid down the grand principle of Bacon, that experiment and observation must be the guides to just theory in the investigation of nature." Beyond this, both as a musician and as an improvisatore poet, he surpassed all his rivals. If we regard him as a sculptor, by the acknowledgment of all his contemporaries, his monument to Francesco Sforza could fairly claim the palm by comparison with the most beautiful statues. As a painter he had Michael Angelo for a rival, and Raffaele for an imitator in energy and natural gracefulness of effect, and, if it should be the opinion of any that these two afterwards

surpassed him in that one art, it should be remembered that to him justly belongs the merit of having first pointed out the road they so successfully followed.

In mechanics he was acquainted with the theory of oblique forces applied to the arm of the lever; the relative resistance of beams; the laws of friction; the influence of the centre of gravity on bodies in rest and in movement; the application of the principle of virtual velocities under a variety of circumstances, the knowledge of which has been brought to so great perfection in our own times. It was he who invented the smoke-jack, and, what is perhaps more striking than all, there is found among his writings the design for a steam-gun. But beyond evidences of theoretical knowledge of mechanics, his practical skill as a mechanician was shown in most marvellous specimens of handiwork constructed for adornment or amusement at a variety of princely festivals. In optics he described the camera obscura, some ninety years before Porta developed the idea into practice. He explained the effect of the sun's rays through an angular hole, more than half a century before the same principle was developed by Maurolycus. He instructs us on aerial perspective, the nature of coloured shadows, the movements of the iris, the effects of the duration of impressions on the eye, with many other optical phenomena, which were unknown to his famous predecessor Vitellio. He conceived the first idea of a barometer, and also of a diving apparatus. He not only made observations promulgated a century later by Castelli on the movement of waters, but seems to have been far superior to the latter, who, nevertheless, has been looked upon in Italy as the founder of hydraulic science. He had very extraordinary but correct notions as to the time of descent on inclined planes of equal height, which he declared to be as their length. He first asserted that a body descends along the arc of a circle sooner than down the chord, and that a body descending an inclined plane will re-ascend with the same velocity as if it had fallen down the height. He frequently repeats that every body weighs in the direction of its movement, and weighs more in the ratio of its velocity; by weight evidently meaning what we call force. This is anticipative not only of Torricelli, a century and a half later, but, as it would seem, approximatively at least, of Huygens' theory of the wonderful properties of the cycloidal curve, some twenty years later still.

Leonardo was in advance of the geologists in observing that the sea had already covered mountains which contained shells; and by remarking that banks of such shells were, in process of time, covered by strata of fresh shells, again covered by alluvium. He seems to have had an idea of the elevation of continents, although he gives no intelligible reason for such a phenomenon.

He gave an explanation of the obscure light of the unilluminated part of the moon by reflection from the earth, as Maestlin did one hundred years after. He made the observation that respirable air alone could support flame. He ascribed the elevation of the equatorial waters above the polar to the heat of the sun; in which, with certain modifications, he is not far wrong. He not only understood fortification well, but since, as he said, "artillery has in our time four times the power it used to have, it is necessary that the fortification of towns should be strengthened in the same proportion." He was employed, as we have already seen, in several great works of engineering. He was the first in his very boyhood to propose a canal from Pisa to Florence. In after life, though still a young man, he made the Martesana Canal navigable from Trezzo to Milan. He first proposed the use of lock-gates to meet the difficulty of unequal levels in canals. He also was the first to recommend the use of *colmate*, a process for removing marshes by conducting into them torrents charged with alluvial matter, so that the mud brought down is there deposited, and, the subjacent soil thus becoming raised, a fall for the stagnant water is procured, so as to allow of the employment of the ordinary methods of drainage. He was, moreover, an ardent student of mathematics, of chemistry, of natural history, of botany; and in his anatomical drawings the great John Hunter, who examined them, remarked with admiring wonder the extreme diligence and exquisite exactness of their author, especially in the drawing of the most minute parts of the muscles.

In the presence of such a stupendous assemblage of original conceptions from the mind of this one noble monument of God's creative power, what transcendent honour must we own to have been shed upon the glorious country which gave birth to such a man. Great as he was, and without compeer, we know that he was not alone. Full many a kindred genius shed a lustre that can never die upon the country and upon the age in which he lived; many that, like him, have poured forth thoughts to brighten the world's darkness, which in their amplitude and perfection remind one of the birth of Minerva full clad from the head of Jupiter; and yet, amongst that host of intellectual giants, may I not fearlessly assert that that one man, Leonardo da Vinci, has a right to be regarded in all truth as *inter maximos maximus*?

I remain, my dear FRANKS, yours very truly,

R. H. MAJOR.

To Augustus Wollaston Franks, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since the foregoing pages passed through the press I have been shown by Henry Stevens, Esq., F.S.A., a memorandum which he had recently received from America, to the effect that in the *Revue Germanique*, vol. viii. p. 205, reference was made to a map bearing the name of America as early as 1512, and consequently earlier than the map by Leonardo da Vinci which forms the subject of this memoir. On reference to the work in question I found that such an assertion was really made in a review of *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, by Fried. Kunstmann, München, 1859, 4to., and in the following terms:—"En Allemagne le nom d'Amérique fut appliqué de très bonne heure aux deux continents; on le trouve pour la première fois sur une carte qui accompagne quelquefois l'Introductio in Ptolemæi *Cosmographiam* de Joh: de Stobnicza, volume extrêmement rare imprimé à Cracovie en 1512, petit in 4to."

Should this assertion prove correct, which, for reasons that I shall presently adduce, I extremely doubt, it will be a fact to be wondered at, that within only a few days of the printing of a statement made by me in accordance with the accepted belief of the greatest writers on the early history of America, such as Humboldt, Lelewel, &c., this novel assertion should have been brought to my knowledge. At the same time it is evident that when any map whatever is put forth as the earliest of its kind *hitherto* known, it cannot be supposed to preclude the possibility of some other map appearing of an earlier date, not previously known to the writer. I will, however, proceed to give the result of my researches on this subject, which, although disproving almost conclusively the special statement in question, is not without interest in connection with the adoption of the name of America. That such a work as that referred to in the *Revue Germanique* was published at Cracow in 1512 is certain, although it is so rightly described as "*extrêmement rare*" that it is not known to Brunet. Kunstmann himself, indeed, states that in a copy of this book which he saw at Munich, there was an exceedingly rare map, which is not to be found in other copies; but, so far from saying that the name of America occurs on that map, he distinctly

asserts that the *earliest* date of a map hitherto known containing that name is, as I stated on page 26, 1520. Upon reference to the *Historia Literatury Polskiej*, by Wiszniewski, tom. 4. p. 105-6, the title of this work is given in the following terms :—*Introductio in Ptolemæi Cosmographiam cum longitudinibus et latitudinibus regionum et civitatum celebriorum.* In titulo inveniuntur adhuc Pauli Crosnensis ad lectorem versus et Distichon; titulo verso, Epistola dedicatoria ad Joannem Lubranski Episcopum Posnem Joannis de Stobnicza. In fine operis, Impressum Cracoviæ per Florianum Unglerium, A.D. 1512, 4to. fol. 40.

Then follows the title of another edition, also printed at Cracow, but by Hieronym Wietor, in 1519. A copy of this latter edition is in the British Museum, but without a map; and it will be observed that, in the above bibliographical descriptions, *no mention* whatever is made of a map belonging to either edition. These two editions are also spoken of by Panzer, in his "*Annales Typographici*;" by Janotski, in his "*Janociana*," and also in his "*Nachricht von denen in der Hochgräfflich-Zaluskischen Bibliothek sich befindenden raren polnischen Büchern*;" but in none of them is the slightest mention made of any map. Maps of so early a date are surely rare enough to be deserving of notice by any bibliographer; how much more a map which would afford to men, whose love of country has been sharpened upon the very hardest of grindstones, the satisfaction of showing that to Poland was due the production of the earliest known map containing the name of America. But what is still more remarkable is, that this work of his countryman Stobnicza seems to have been utterly unknown to my late venerated and noble friend Joachim Lelewel, who had not only written largely upon the literature of his country, but devoted years of labour to the special study of the progress of geographical knowledge. To him the map, which is said to have accompanied this work, would have been a matter of peculiar interest, even if he had not been a Pole; of how much more interest then would it have been to one who loved Poland so dearly, that he unselfishly devoted to the support of his destitute fellow-countrymen the scanty earnings of his own laborious study. But further, if we refer to the article on Geography in tom. 9 of the "*Encyklopedyja Powszechna*," page 783, published at Warsaw so lately as 1862, we shall find it mentioned, as a fact to be noticed, that "in the beginning of the sixteenth century, Petrus Appianus published a map in which America was mentioned," evidently thereby implying that it was the *earliest* hitherto known, as on page 26 I stated it to be. Nevertheless, in spite of all these counter-arguments and the possibility that the map alluded to in the

“*Revue Germanique*,” may have been an accidental insertion, the assertion still remains in print that such a map exists; and if, contrary to all probability, that be the case, it will be a matter of interest to all geographers, as well as to myself, to make its acquaintance. One thing is certain, that, whether such a map exist or not, the volume to which it is said to belong is not only new to me, but contains a sentence which forms an interesting link in the chain of the story of the adoption of the name of America. It is a satisfaction to me to find that, whereas that link was brought to me loose, I am able to rivet it on to the chain to which it belongs.

The passage, which I take from the 1519 edition, runs thus:—“*Non solum autem prædictæ tres partes nunc sunt latius lustratæ, verum et alia quarta pars ab Americo Vesputio sagacis ingenii viro inventa est, quam ab ipso Americo ejus inventore Amerigem quasi Americi terram sive Americam appellari volunt.*” The language is evidently taken from that of the first suggestion of the name in the *Cosmographiæ Introductio* of Hylacomilus; see *supra*, page 25. At page 26 it will be seen that the first adoption of the name of America at any distance from S. Dié, where it was first suggested, was in a letter written from Vienna in 1512 by Joachim Vadianus or Watt to Rudolphus Agricola. Now in both the editions of Stobnicza’s work is inserted a Sapphic poem by Rudolphus Wasserburgensis, under which name lies concealed no other than Rudolphus Agricola, so named from his birth-place Wasserburg in the Grisons. Hence, through this Rudolphus Agricola, we trace a connection between Vadianus, who uses the name of America in Vienna in 1512, and Stobnicza who uses the same name in Cracow in the same year. This connection is still more closely shown by a passage in the “*Janociana*” already referred to, vol. i. p. 291, where it says that Vadianus, who had lived in the most affectionate intimacy with Rudolphus Agricola at Vienna, accompanied him on his journey into Poland, and especially mentions Cracow as the place where the former established a close friendship with one Justus Ludovicus Decius. It is further worth notice that Hieronym Wietor, who printed the second edition of Stobnicza’s work in Cracow in 1519, was the friend of Vadianus at Vienna in 1512, and in 1515 printed one of his works in that city; while Unglerius, who printed the 1512 edition at Cracow, is distinctly stated by Janotski to have been the intimate friend of Rudolphus Agricola the friend of Vadianus.

Of John Stobnicza himself, Janotski further informs us at page 253 that he received his name from his birthplace, a small town in Lesser Poland; he was educated at Cracow, where at the beginning of the 16th century he succeeded the

celebrated John of Glogau in the chair of philosophy, and shortly after was made president of the Gymnasium of Posen by John Lubranski, Bishop of Posen, who was its founder. I will content myself with giving the title of another work printed at Cracow, in the same year, and by the same printer, as the work by John Stobnicza now in question, in order further to connect him with the authors of the suggestion of the name of America. It runs thus, "Modus epistolandi Philippi Beroaldi Bononiensis Viri clarissimi. Additis quibusdam ex elegantiss Jacobi Uimphelingii epistole necessariis. Cum Rudolphi Wassenburgensis prefatione et carmine anapestico ad ingenuum lectorem. Cracoviæ, 1512." 4to. Now the excellent and learned Wimpheling, who is thus brought into fellowship with Rudolphus Agricola, was the townsman and tutor of Mathias Ringmann, the fellow-workman of Hylacomylus (see *supra*, p. 30), and had himself been a student at Fribourg, where Hylacomylus was born and received his education. He subsequently held a prebendal stall at Strasburg, where the 1509 edition of the "Cosmographiæ Introductio," as well as the "Globus Mundi," was printed. It is further worthy of notice that Wimpheling shared the opinions of Luther on the abuses which had been introduced into the Christian church, which would naturally bring him into connection with Vadianus, the founder of the Reformation in his native town of S. Gall, and with the friend of Vadianus, Rudolphus Agricola, himself a reformer; while all three were on terms of intimate correspondence with the learned Erasmus.

R. H. M.

British Museum, April 12th, 1865.

II.—*Observations on the Primitive Site, Extent, and Circumvallation of Roman London.* By WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read November 26th, 1863.

WITHOUT at present attempting to discuss the question whether a city, town, or village occupied the present site of the city of London before the Roman invasion of this country, it is enough for the purpose of this paper to assume as a fixed fact, resting on irresistible evidence and which all parties admit, that the existing area of the city proper, that is, the space between the walls and gates which stood a little more than a century ago, was (with the exception of the Blackfriars' precinct) occupied by the Romans up to the time when their legions were recalled to the continent, and the Roman government ceased in this island. But, that the whole of this area was originally the city, is not, I believe, asserted by any antiquaries or historians; it is evidently too large to have been originally selected or laid out for a city, being capable of containing several of the cities and towns which were built and walled in by the Romans in this country.

Unless the nature of the spot were inconsistent with the plan of a square city, the Romans never departed from a quadrangular form. Here, then, why do we find an obvious and needless irregularity of figure? The city within the walls is an irregular polygon, but not such a polygon as presents sides and angles fitted only to the exigencies of the place and the necessities of defence; it presents evident appearances of enlargement or extension, in the directions of its irregularity of figure.

When the physical features of the place are considered, such as they must have been at the first occupation of this country by the Romans, it will appear most unlikely that they should have laid out the whole extent of soil which reaches from Ludgate to Aldgate, intersected as it then was by a stream large enough to form a little harbour at its mouth, namely, at Dowgate. Nor is it likely that they would, (as conjectured and strongly urged by a learned Fellow of this Society, Mr. Arthur Taylor,) have selected the portion lying to the east of that stream, but destitute of any natural defence on its own eastern and northern boundary; when on the other

side of the same stream lay a higher piece of ground, naturally defended by water on *three sides*, and capable of easy defence on the northern or land side. Even as a *camp*, the quadrangular space between the river Thames and the Fleet and the Dour or Wallbrook, its tributary streams, might have been chosen, and perhaps was chosen by the Romans, as a place which in a few hours might be rendered perfectly secure. Nothing was needed but a dyke or artificial barrier from the one stream to the other, at a sufficient distance from the Thames; and in this spot they might readily obtain supplies of water, fuel, forage, and other provisions, especially if they had a fleet at command: nor could there be a surer basis of operations against the inhabitants of the country lying northward of the Thames.

The opposite bank of the river did not then exist as we now have it. For, before the construction of those vast banks, or river-walls, which reach on both sides of the Thames, (excepting some few intervals where high ground is contiguous to the line of ebb,) from the sea to the Tower of London, on the northern side, and from the sea to Battersea town on the southern side, there must have been a vast expansion of water at every tide, extending from the high grounds of Greenwich, Peckham, Camberwell, Brixton, and Clapham, to the Middlesex shore, and forming a *lake*, which included Wapping, the Isle of Dogs, the Stratford, Plaistow, and other Essex Marshes, as far as Purfleet, and the Kentish marshes from Erith to Greenwich. Even at the present day, nothing but artificial banks and erections prevents those parts of the Thames Valley from being inundated at every spring tide; and within my own memory there were numerous ponds, dikes, and tidal water-courses or pools on the Surrey side of the river, which were daily filled with water, within a few inches of the general level of the land.

These considerations at once dispel the notion, fondly entertained and advocated by such learned and ingenious writers as Dean Gale and Mr. Salmon, that London originally stood on the *south* side of the Thames. They relied chiefly on the passage in Ptolemy's Geography, written early in the second century, when London was little known, wherein that valuable and generally trustworthy author, enumerating the tribes that inhabited the southern coast of Britain, from west to east, namely, the Demetæ, Silures, Dobuni, and Atrebatii, says—"After these, the most eastern, the *Cantii* (Κάντιοι), among whom are the cities Λονδίσιον, Δαρούερον (Daruernum?), Ρουτούπιαι," or, as we call them, *London*, *Canterbury*, and *Sandwich* or *Richborough*. But, unless it can be proved that Kent extended so far westward as to include Southwark, this passage must be deemed erroneous; especially as Ptolemy places *Næomagus* among the *Regni*, the situation of which town (as I hope to be able to prove in another paper) is inconsistent with this testimony. The strength of their

opinion further rests on the supposed remains of a Roman camp in St. George's Fields, which Maitland has long ago shown to have been nothing more than a portion of the military lines thrown up for the defence of London and Southwark in the last civil wars. Nor is there any argument derivable from the direction of the second route, in the Imperial Itinerary, that can for a moment hold good, in favour of a London south of the Thames, against the reasons and measurements which make to the contrary.

Returning, therefore, to the Middlesex side of the Thames, I observe that with such an eligible spot existing, as that which I have described between the two streams now reduced to the condition of covered sewers, but formerly navigable and navigated, and draining a large extent of ground from Hampstead to Islington and Kingsland;—I may assume that we possess, within so much of the city as is contained between those streams, the original area and primitive site of the first Roman London. It is as incredible that any part of the original city should have been abandoned, and not have been inclosed within Constantine's walls, as that the original Rome should have been excluded from the space surrounded by the walls of Aurelian. As, therefore, we find the *Roma Quadrata* of the Palatine Mount in the midst of the imperial capital, so ought we to find a *Londinium Quadratum* within the walls of the British metropolis. I propose to find it, by taking the western limit of the city, before the wall was disturbed there by King Edward I. for the accommodation of the Black Friars. Near the centre of that limit was Ludgate, and a considerable portion of the wall is yet preserved behind (that is, eastward of) the Old Bailey prison buildings, in the direction denoted in the old map, or bird's-eye-view, of London, published in the reign of Elizabeth, and re-engraved by George Vertue a century ago, which is commonly known in various forms and sizes as "Aggas's Map." I then take the line of the wall which turned eastward to Aldersgate; and, in the stead of making an angle northward, as the wall did, and still in part does, toward Cripplegate, I continue it eastward, to a point where it would meet an eastern wall coming from Dowgate along the western bank of the Dour or Walbrook.

Mr. Pennant, in his ingenious and interesting "Account of London," supposes that the Britons had selected this very spot before the arrival of Julius Cæsar. "There is not," says he, "the least reason to doubt but that London existed at that period, and was a place of much resort. It stood in such a situation as the Britons would select, according to the rule they established," namely, the adoption of woodland fastnesses for their towns; and he alleges on the authority of Fitz-Stephen (whose words he has misunderstood and overstrained), that "an

immense forest originally extended to the river-side, and even as late as the reign of Henry II. covered the northern neighbourhood of the city, and was filled with various species of beasts of chase. It was defended naturally by fosses, one formed by the creek which ran along Fleet-ditch, the other afterwards known by that of Walbrook. The south side was guarded by the Thames. The north they might think sufficiently protected by the adjacent forest.”^a But Fitz-Stephen says, “Item a borea sunt agri pascui, et pratorum grata planities, aquis fluvialibus interfluis; ad quas molinorum versatiles rotæ citantur cum murmure jocoso. Proxime patet foresta ingens, saltus nemorosi ferarum, latebræ cervorum, damarum, caprorum, et taurorum sylvestrium.” By *proxime* he meant next to the spacious fields and well-watered meadows on the north of the city, extending to the Middlesex hills, and to the edge of the Essex forest; because water-mills in the fields are mentioned, which could only be on the larger streams, such as the branches of the Lee. The section concludes with a commendation of the corn-fields and their rich soil, which evidently are meant to be understood as lying between the city and the forest.^b Our author, Pennant, is clearly wrong in describing that as part of the forest, which for ages afterward was a moor and meadows, the overflow of whose watercourses supplied the Walbrook; and he might have recollected the words of John Stowe,—“Of these Moor-fields you have formerly read, what a moorish rotten ground they were, unpassable but for causeways purposely made to that intent.”^c They were included within the jurisdiction of Cripplegate Ward. Nor is Pennant correct in describing the two natural streams as “fosses,” or in calling the western one by the name of “Fleet-ditch,” which I well remember when it flowed as an open and natural brook or torrent, in Coldbath Fields, at the bottom of a deep glen, with steep and grassy sides. How deep and steep its bank must have been at Ludgate, may be judged by considering the present declivity from St. Martin’s Ludgate (which stood just within the gate), to the foot of Ludgate Hill, and the depth at which the stream subterraneously flows there, so as to fall into the Thames at Blackfriars Bridge.

Mr. Pennant, though he attributes the original occupation of this part of London to the Britons, yet goes on immediately to speak of London Stone, which stands on the eastern side of the Walbrook, as supposed by some to have been “part of a Druidical circle,” or otherwise of British origin. Hence he seems to include the eastern tract of the city within its primitive limits. That London Stone was erected by the Romans, appears from the uses which it can be shown

^a Pennant’s Account of London, 2nd ed. 4to. 1791, pp. 3, 4.

^b Stephanides, in Stowe’s London, 1633, fol. p. 705.

^c Stowe’s London, 1633, fol. p. 301.

they made of it; but, those uses being quite independent of the quadrilateral tract which I have described, I would not at present make any remark upon London Stone, excepting as connected with Mr. Taylor's hypothesis.

Mr. Taylor, in his able and ingenious letters, printed in the *Archæologia*,^a proposes, as the original site of London, that part which extends in length from the Walbrook eastward to Billingsgate, and includes in breadth little more than Cannon Street and Eastcheap, with their lanes branching northward and southward. His western gate is Dowgate, which he places on the eastern side of the Walbrook; and his eastern gate is Billingsgate, which he places at the top of St. Mary-at-Hill. But within this very tract is the ancient precinct, liberty, or manor of "Cold Harbor,"^b the name and nature of which are sufficient to prove that its situation must have been on the outside of a city, and could not have formed part of a very small ancient town. All the "Cold Harbors" with which I am acquainted seem to have been originally places of entertainment for travellers or drovers, who only required rest and fodder for their horses or cattle, as distinguished from the warm lodging and provisions of an inn or tavern; and two ancient places of this name, Great and Little Cold Harbor, are also situate on the north bank of the Thames, in Erith Reach. But the greatest objections, apart from what I have already urged against this scheme, consist in the facts, that there is no water-defence provided for this imaginary city to the seaward; and that Billingsgate, which always was reputed to be a water-gate, is really an artificial harbor or dock, similar to Queen-hithe or Puddle-dock, and has been only in modern times used as a fish-market. As for London Stone, Mr. Taylor considers it to be "a milliary, near one of the gates," and not placed in a *forum*. Indeed, it is difficult to find any open space for a *forum* or market-place within Mr. Taylor's proposed site, although there is the bare name of "East-Cheap," until lately a very narrow street, and at some distance further eastward is "East-Smithfield."

This mention of the street called "East-Cheap" leads me to animadvert on an opinion expressed by our learned and laborious Fellow, Mr. Charles Roach Smith, who, in his "Illustrations of Roman London,"^c expresses a disbelief in the identity of the present thoroughfares with those used in the Roman times. The identity of the walls and most of the gates, with those of the Roman period, ought to afford sufficient proof that the ways leading to and from those gates must have been co-existent with the Romans; and the various conflicting interests of the body politic, and of private individuals, appear sufficient to account for an exact corre-

^a Vol. XXXIII. pp. 101—124.

^b Ibid. pp. 118—120.

^c London, 1859, 4to, p. 21.

spondence of the ancient and modern thoroughfares with those of the earliest times, unless where some historical fact or obvious phænomena may lead to a different conclusion. Even the Fire of London, in 1666, could not obliterate or alter the public ways; and, in the part which I have pointed out, the plan of the streets bears all the appearance of originality, except within the precincts of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the alterations made within our own time for the erection of the General Post Office and Cannon Street West. Nor should it be forgotten that the names of many of the streets and ways are of most remote antiquity, as appears by innumerable instances thereof contained in ancient records and evidences.

The interments made by the Romans, and the nature of the ground, forbid us to step westward beyond Ludgate for the original site; and I take this opportunity of informing the Society that one of their noblest monuments hitherto found in London, bearing an inscription consecrated by Anencletus to his *conjug pientissima Martina*, which was discovered near Ludgate, about half a century ago, is mentioned in Mr. Smith's "Illustrations," p. 23, and is there supposed to have been "destroyed," is yet preserved in the open yard of the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill, near the spot where it was found. Though a massive hexagonal altar or column, it is by no means in a proper place, being exposed to the injurious influence of the weather. As it is said to be the property of the city, and to be inconvenient to the proprietor of the house, I would suggest that this Society should take charge of it, if the civic authorities cannot find a better lodgment for so interesting a monument, and be willing to add one more to the numerous Roman inscriptions in the possession of this our ancient and public body.

The funereal antiquities discovered under the site of St. Paul's Cathedral appear to throw some obstacle in the way of admitting it within the original site. But as we know little more than that an early Christian cemetery existed there, mixed with some Roman remains, the whole may have been Christian, or mingled with others under circumstances unknown to us: perhaps they may have been placed there in the very infancy of Londinium, before the city itself was founded and inclosed with walls, or during a seige. The place is peculiar, and I humbly submit that no certain inference can be drawn from the facts as now reported to us.

I rely most strongly on the regular and compact manner in which the streets and lanes are laid out within the quadrilateral spot which I have described; and I rely on the fact that Roman work existed until the year 1632,^a in the Church of St. Alban, in Wood Street, which was then pulled down, being in a ruinous state. It was

^a Stow's London, 1633, fol. p. 819.

described by Stowe or his continuator as of very ancient architecture, and as containing "Roman bricks here and there inlaid among the stones of the building."^a He supposed it to have been as old as the time of King Athelstan; and also says: "One great square tower of this king's house seems yet remaining; to be seen at the north corner of Love Lane, as you come from Aldermanbury; which tower is of the very same stone and manner of building with St. Alban's Church."^b Those ancient buildings may be reasonably conjectured to have occupied the site or to have formed portions of the original gate and towers, in a line of wall extending directly eastward from Aldersgate; and the wide triangular space in the street called "Aldermanbury," at the spot in question, may indicate the position of a tower or courthouse against the wall, where the local affairs of the city were administered by the Aldermen, before the adoption of the site of the present Guildhall, which lies a little to the south-east of that very place.

Although I have not heard of any discovery of subterraneous Roman remains in the direction of my supposed wall from Aldersgate toward the middle of Coleman Street (where I consider that it must have turned southward), yet I have been fortunate enough to discover, in the course of the last summer, clear indications of a massive wall running in a line east and west, at such a distance from the river as it might most reasonably be expected to have been first built: that is, at the top of the "hills," or steep lanes, which rise from Thames Street toward the next line of streets parallel with the river.

The absence of a southern wall, for many ages, had led to a belief that the city lay open to the river on the south. Fitz-Stephen, in his well-known Description of London, written in the twelfth century, says, that the city had a high and great wall, with seven gates, "*turrita ab aquilone per intercapedines*," furnished with towers, at intervals, on the north. "*Similiterque ab austro Londonia murata et turrita fuit, sed fluvius maximus piscosus Thamesis, mari influo refluoque qui illac illabitur, moenia illa tractu temporis alluit, labefactavit, dejecit.*"^c So improbable did it appear that the Thames should have subverted the solid work of the Romans that, until the discovery of a large portion of it in the line of Thames Street, as described in Mr. Smith's Illustrations of Roman London,^d and also in Mr. Tite's recent Paper, read before this Society, this passage of Fitz-Stephen might have been regarded rather as the expression of an opinion than as the relation of a fact. The appearances, described by those gentlemen who saw it, rather favored the idea of wilful demolition, for the purpose of carrying out quays

^a Stow's London, p. 308.

^b Ibid.

^c Ibid. p. 704.

^d Pp. 18, 19.

along the river, than that of subversion and ruin by the tide. A further part of it, at or near the south-eastern angle of Suffolk Lane, has been disclosed in the past summer, from which I have preserved large and interesting specimens of Roman bricks and workmanship. It stood in an exact line toward the place pointed out by our honorable fellow Member abovementioned.

But the discovery of a piece of Roman wall above the "hills" is, perhaps, the most remarkable that has been made of this kind within the city, inasmuch as it enables us to determine the fact, that London was at first inclosed with walls of less extent than those known to history and topography. I will, therefore, relate the circumstances of the discovery, and produce before you some specimens of the materials.

It was on Thursday, the 25th of June, that I was passing down St. Peter's Hill, out of Great Knightrider Street, to the Heralds' College, by the back entrance, when I observed the workmen belonging to the City Sewers department excavating the ground for drainage, and casting up portions of Roman brick and concrete. I immediately caught up a piece of that brick, which I now produce, and took it into the college, calling the attention of my learned friends, the officers of arms, to the fact, that Roman foundations were disclosed within a few feet of their own buildings. Sir Charles Young, Garter King of Arms, and some of the heralds, accompanied me to the spot, and our learned and venerable Fellow, Dr. Lee, came from the other college, Doctors' Commons, to view the place. We agreed to call the attention of Mr. Tite to the discovery, not knowing to what it might lead; and he readily put me in communication with Mr. Haywood, the city engineer, to whose kindness I owe the assistance rendered by his officers in obtaining the required measurements and specimens of the work disclosed.

It was found to consist of a wall 3 feet 8 inches thick at the base, being rubble to the height of 3 feet from the footing, which stood in the gravel and sand of the bed of the Thames. Then followed Roman bricks, in courses, to the further height of 3 feet 10 inches; then rubble again to the height of 2 feet 2 inches, diminishing in thickness from 3 feet 6 inches to 2 feet 9 inches at the top, which lay 5 feet 10 inches below the surface of the ground, almost at the upper extremity of Peter's Hill. The wall, however, did not lie in a direction parallel to Knightrider Street, which bends somewhat northward at that place. Careful measurements were therefore taken, both across the "hill," and northward, at both ends of the line of wall, to the front of the houses on the north side of Knightrider Street, so that its direction might be traced eastward or westward, to any other point where it might afterwards be traced.



SITE OF ROMAN LONDON AND THE ROMAN WAYS LEADING TO IT.

A few days afterwards, on the 7th of July, a further portion was discovered on the northern side of the way in Great Knight-*trider* Street, exactly in the direction indicated by the former measurements. I produce small specimens of the Roman bricks obtained there, and observe that, from this spot, we found the wall tend to the exact line of the front wall of the parish church a little to the eastward, whence I have been able to get a true base line for a southern wall of the City, above the "hills," and excluding all their slopes, and Thames Street, as might have been expected in the laying out and circumvallation of the primitive city.

This discovery has been followed by such a train of reflection, that I have been enabled to reduce to method all my old observations and researches about London and other Roman cities and towns of Britain; the result of which I have partly embodied in a series of printed "Letters to eminent antiquaries," and I hope further to be indulged with the opportunity of laying them before the Society.

To explain more clearly my notion of the true original site of Roman London, I have coloured two sheets of the large (twelve-inch) Ordnance Map, now exhibited to the Society. First, I have drawn the base line before described, and projected it from St. Andrew's Hill to a point westward of Dowgate. Next, I have thrown up two lines from the extremities thereof, at right angles, to Ludgate and the existing line of wall on the west, and to a point in or near Coleman Street on the east; the upper ends of which lines join the real line of wall from Giltspur Street to Aldersgate, and a supposed line of wall from Aldersgate to Coleman Street. This space is coloured light red, as is all the other Roman area of London within the walls, but is distinguished therefrom by broad red lines. I have coloured brown the principal Roman and British roads out of London; the Thames and those parts of Middlesex and Surrey which were originally under water, light blue; and East and West Smithfield green. I hope that an examination of the large Map of London, so distinguished, may enable the Fellows of this Society not only to form a clear conception of my meaning, but (which is of greater importance) by means of all the evidence that can be adduced, to arrive at a just conclusion upon the subject of this paper, whether agreeable to the suggestions herein contained or otherwise.

Note.—The annexed diagram (Pl. III.) exhibits on a reduced scale the principal features of a portion of the large map above referred to, comprising the site of the Roman City according to the view of the writer. The first Roman site is coloured red, the extension has a red outline, and the portions under water are indicated by light blue. The roads are left uncoloured, those only being laid down that are presumed to be of Roman origin.

III.—*Further Observations on the Primitive Site, Extent, and Circumvallation of Roman London.* By WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read February 11th, 1864.

IN the discussion which took place on the reading of my former paper on this subject, on the 26th of November last, remarks were made which want of time prevented me from answering. I now, therefore, propose to lay before the Society some of my further thoughts on this subject, and, first, to answer some of those remarks.

1. I had carefully guarded against the discussion of the question, whether any and what pre-occupation of the site of London had been effected before the arrival of the Romans; yet most of the remarks made upon my paper respected that very question. I am willing to admit that some former occupation existed: indeed I am inclined to believe London to have been a British or Gaulish settlement, because the etymon of LONDINIUM is not Roman but British; yet it does not follow that the Romans were not the founders of London, *as a regular city* inclosed within walls. The connection of London with the Trinobantes of Julius Cæsar's time is too obscure and doubtful a part of history to afford any satisfaction to the critical antiquary; and I have therefore treated it but hypothetically in the first of my printed letters to Mr. Tite on Roman London.

2. Our learned fellow-member Mr. Lewin urges that London was most probably "the Town of Cassivellaunus," mentioned in Cæsar's Commentaries. There is, indeed, at first thought, something more of probability that London was his, than that it belonged to the Trinobantes, with whom he was at war, while it is expressly said that his dominion was bounded by the Thames.* If this latter fact be fully

* The situation of Camalodunum being placed by Ptolemy among the Trinobantes, they clearly might have possessed Essex, especially as he says that they were more eastern than the Catyeuchlani and other tribes whom he describes, that they were situate at the mouth of the Thames, *παρὰ τὴν Ἰμνησαν ἑισχυοιν*, (which I read *Ταμέως ἑισχυοιν*,) and that the islands Tolingis and Counos lay below them, which I understand as signifying the Thanet and Canvey Islands. All this agrees with the supposition that the Thames ceased to be a river, where the respective boundaries of Cassivellaunus and the Trinobantes met, perhaps at the River Lea.

and strictly insisted on, I cannot see how the Trinobantes can be admitted any longer, to have been the occupiers of Middlesex and Essex, in our ancient geography. But, on the other hand, the description of "the Town of Cassivellaunus," to which Cæsar was directed by the British tribes who submitted to his power, does not appear to me agreeable to the situation and nature of our metropolis. It was "silvis paludibusque munitum,"—"defended by woods and marshes;" but no river or lake is mentioned. It contained "a very great number of men and cattle;" and was such a place as the Britons called a town, *oppidum* (in their language either *caer* or *tref*), consisting of "thick or pathless woods, defended by a *vallum* and foss, whither they were accustomed to come together for the purpose of avoiding the incursion of enemies."^a Could this, then, have been a town of residence?—a place of streets, lanes, and houses, a place suitable for commerce, conspicuously situate on the banks of a mighty river, as London? Certainly not. Cæsar found the place "admirably protected by nature and art," and attacked it on two sides; whereas London could have been attacked only on one side, the northern, without crossing the Thames, or one of the smaller rivers, of which not a word is said, and the inference is clearly different. From Cæsar's narrative, a vast cattle-pen, among woods and marshes, is the idea to be derived of the Town of Cassivellaunus.

3. To clear up this point a little better, let us consider whereabout Cæsar was when he was informed of the situation of that town. He had been told, at or near his naval camp, on the coast of Kent, that the dominions of Cassivellaunus were bounded by "a river called TAMESIS, which divided them from the maritime cities or states (*civitatibus*), and was about eighty miles distant from the sea," that is, the British Channel, which alone was known to Cæsar. The mouth of the Thames at that time was, as shown in my former paper, between Purfleet and Erith, up to which the sea must have flowed, if not higher, before the river was embanked; and the tide still reaches beyond Richmond.^b Allow me, for the sake of argument, the hypothesis, that KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES is the spot indicated by his Trinobantine guide; and the passage of the river will be found to be distant, in a straight line, from the several hypothetic places of Cæsar's landing and naval station, as follows:—

^a Comm. De Bell. Gall. v. 21.

^b The measurement cannot therefore be taken in the direction between Kent and Essex, but across the country.

From Deal or Walmer, about 82 Roman miles.

„ Sandwich,	„ 80	„
„ Folkstone,	„ 73	„
„ Hythe,	„ 69	„
„ Lymne,	„ 67	„
„ Rye Harbour,	„ 64	„
„ Pevensey,	„ 58	„

KINGSTON presents geographically the most favourable place for crossing the Thames, in the way from either of these parts of our south-eastern coast; and it allows of eleven miles deviation out of the direct line from Hythe,^a by a course which may be easily traced through Kent and Surrey, little or nothing exceeding the distance specified. It has the advantage of a situation just above the reach of the tide; and the Middlesex shore opens northward into a rich but narrow country between the Colne and the Brent, among small streams and marshy meadows, leading to the woody lands about Pinner, Harrow, and Cashiobury Park, where all the circumstances of Cæsar's description seem to be found, with the least amount of improbability. But this is far to the west of London: let us therefore return.

4. It is always found, in tracing the *incunabula* of a city, that the oldest roads leading to and from the place afford the best indication of its original position, all other things being consistent with such indication. I have already shown the antecedent probability of the primitive site of London, from the situation of its *waters* and its *walls*, and now I proceed to consider its *ways*.

5. The oldest way in or about London is perhaps that which bears the names of "Old Street," "Old Street Road," and (further eastward) the "Roman Road" leading to "Old Ford." It is beyond controversy or doubt that Old Ford is the first and original passage over the river Lea, above its confluence with the Thames. I shall not, therefore, attempt to prove this position at present, but merely state my opinion that this way was an ancient British way and ford, forming the principal communication between the eastern and western counties, north of the Thames, and that it is older than London itself. It is capable of mathematical proof that the "Watling Street" is a modern road compared with that ancient highway. Several ways intersect the "Old Street" leading to the City, of which the principal and most direct ways are Aldersgate Street and Bishopsgate Street; but the latter is evidently less ancient, being a substitute for an older way which has been abolished. There is also an intermediate way from Cripplegate, viz., Redcross

^a Mr. Lewin's position for Cæsar's landing-place.

Street and Golden Lane, of great antiquity. All these communicate with the primitive site which I have pointed out, viz., Aldersgate Street and Redcross Street directly, and Bishopsgate Street indirectly, through Threadneedle Street. This last street appears to have been made to serve the original purpose of that remarkable way justly called "Broad Street," which must have been the original northern road in the direction of Ware and Cambridge, Huntingdon and Lincoln, and may have been the original "Ermin Street," but was abolished in favour of Bishopsgate Street, which was made to lead from the north to the Bridge; and so the progress of Broad Street was cut off by Constantine's Wall, only a few traces of it being left here and there, as far as Enfield Chace or further, distinct from the present road. "Broad Street" tended originally from north to south-west, and so entered the primitive city at an east gate with a curve. Such a curve occurs also on the western side of the city, where, avoiding the deep part of the Fleet River, the way from Ludgate bent northward up the Old Bailey, and, crossing Smithfield in the line of Giltspur Street and St. John's Street, joined the "Old Street" on the eastern side of the Fleet, and went on to Verulam; while a branch of it bent its course westward by Seacoal Lane and Snow Hill, and came to a fordable part of the Fleet at what is now called "Holborn Bridge," to join the "Old Street" at the eastern end of Oxford Street, which is its western continuation towards Reading, Bath, Oxford, Gloucester, and South Wales.

6. Eastward there was another road, the "Portway," which, issuing from an eastern gate, whether at the Poultry or (as I am now more inclined to believe) at Bucklersbury, by way of the old "Bearbinder Lane" behind the Mansion House, Lombard Street, and Fenchurch Street, took a bending way through Whitechapel, beyond which it divided—northward to Bethnal Green, where it joined the "Old Street"—southward to Stepney and its ferries, and, still proceeding westward to the river Lea, where it again divided—northward to the Old Ford—southward to Bromley and "Lea-mouth" on the Thames.

7. Southward there could be no road connected with the city until the bridge was constructed; and as notices occur, so early as in the Antonine Itinerary, of *bridges* in Britain, it may be fairly inferred that the Romans made a bridge at London. In this belief I agree with Mr. C. R. Smith, in his "Illustrations of Roman London";^a though I cannot assent to his opinion "that old London bridge marked the centre of the earlier London." To me it seems impossible that there should have been any passage over the Thames at London, until the great lake

^a London, 1859, 4to. pp. 20, 21; and *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. pp. 159, 160.

was drained enough to enable the Romans to construct a road or causeway over the marshes into Surrey; and most unlikely that there should have been a bridge at so early a period, as that it should "mark the centre" of the original city. The natural order of things is, first, a practicable *road*, with a bank or *hithe*; then a ferry; and lastly a bridge, at some spot in the neighbourhood of the ferry, but not so high as to incommode it. I ask the Society, then, to bear in mind that the great southern road is "Stane-street" or "Stoney-street," in Surrey, leading not directly to one of the Kentish ports, but to the havens of Sussex; and that the most primitive street in Southwark is "Stoney-street," leading through the market-places there to the river-bank opposite to Dowgate, and having a branch which leads directly to the little dock at the west end of the great church. Is not this the ancient ferry-place, and does not this statement agree with the old legends about the foundation of St. Mary Overy and London bridge? Southwark seems to have been originally a "work," embankment, or structure in the marshes, opposite to the port of Dowgate; and from a convenient spot to the eastward there seems to have been made, in Roman times, a bridge—a *pons sublicius*—like that of Rochester, which is most curiously described in the "Textus Roffensis," or like Julius Cæsar's wooden bridge, built in ten days, over the Rhine.^a Such a bridge certainly existed, ages before that which we call "old London bridge," being mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon chronicles; and its great use, in connecting the parts of Britain north and south of the Thames, appears to have demanded the construction of the great road, which superseded the old "Ermin Street" and "Broad Street" (as I have already said) by directly connecting "Old Street" with "Stoney Street" and Newington Causeway. I say nothing at present of "Kent Street," for, though Roman, it is much later, in my judgment, and by my measurements. All the ways that I have mentioned are demonstrably of Roman measurement and construction, unless where they had been previously (as Old Street and Ermin Street) laid out, roughly perhaps, by the Britons.

8. If all these facts be considered, I think that they necessarily establish my position, that the original LONDINIUM was in the centre to which all these ancient ways tend. They all direct us to the western side of the Walbrook, and are inconsistent with the existence of a primitive city eastward of that little river.

9. I have now to deal with "Watling Street." This I consider, from all the marks and evidences of Roman engineering which I have traced, to be the most

^a Bell. Gall. iv. 17.

recent of all the great roads; if indeed constructed, in the southern part of Britain, before the Itinerary of Antoninus; yet not so in the northern part, or westward and northward of London. I have treated "Kent Street" as modern; and so it is; for, though it is a portion of the great "Watling Street," yet the original course of Watling Street in the metropolis was, as I have said, westward, through Seacoal Lane and Cock Lane to Holborn; and its eastern course was not at first through Southwark, but along Eastcheap, to a spot where it is intersected by the road leading northward from Billingsgate Dock; it was then divided into two branches, the one through Tower Street, East Smithfield, and Ratcliff Highway; the other by a straighter course, from Eastcheap directly to Rosemary Lane and Cable Street; both leading to Ratcliff Cross, where they united at the ferry; and thence the course of the Watling Street continued, from the "Garden Stairs" or "Billingsgate Stairs," at Greenwich, across Greenwich Park to the "Sun in the Sands," where the old Roman road joins the later Roman road, in its way over Shooter's Hill to Canterbury and the Kentish ports. The upper of those two branches in the east of London was cut off by Constantine's Wall, as "Broad Street" was; but the measures and other engineering indications clearly make it out, as I hope to demonstrate at a future opportunity. It is near the angle of a Roman cross-road, now called Mill Yard, just a Roman mile in length, joining this branch with the "Old Street," and exactly a Roman mile from London Stone (that most important point of mensuration for later Roman London), that I write this paper; and here it is that I have conducted these researches, and have carried on for many years my investigations of Roman measurements and engineering, with results which I trust may be regarded as of national importance; for the early topography of this country must be wholly re-written, I humbly conceive, by the help of those measures and principles which I expect to be enabled shortly to communicate to the world, in the form of an authentic edition of the Antonine Itinerary, with an ample geographical commentary.

10. Those who can carry in their minds the directions of the ancient roads which I have briefly attempted to describe, or will refer to my map, will perceive that all the lines converge in CHEAP, or (as it is now called) "Cheapside." This is the "Cheap," the *Forum* or Market-place, without such local distinction as belongs to "East Cheap;" and just as Smithfield proper needs no such distinction as "East Smithfield" invariably has. By this method the originals may be fairly determined, and distinguished from the subsequent or additional places bearing the same name. "Cheap" was the centre, and is the centre still;

although the eminent Sir Christopher Wren held a different opinion, which I shall proceed to discuss.

11. When that great architect dug below a house that was bought in Cheapside for the erection of the tower and steeple of Bow Church, he reached some Roman remains, which he considered part of a paved road. Though his words are familiar to London antiquaries, I beg to repeat them for the purpose of explanation, and of disproving the erroneous conclusion which he drew from the isolated fact. Maitland, quoting from Wren's "*Parentalia*," says that "The extent of the Roman colony, or prefecture" (as, contrary to the express testimony of Tacitus, these authors allege London to have been), "particularly northward, Sir Christopher Wren had occasion to discover by this accident. The parochial church of Saint Mary-le-Bow, in Cheapside, required to be rebuilt after the Great Fire. The building had been mean and low, with one corner taken out for the tower; but upon restoring that, the church could be rendered square. Upon opening the ground a foundation was discerned, firm enough for the new intended fabric, which (on further inspection, after digging down sufficiently, and removing what earth and rubbish lay in the way), appeared to be the walls with the windows also, and the pavement of a temple or church of Roman workmanship entirely buried under the level of the present street. Hereupon he determined to erect his new church over the old; and, in order to the necessary regularity and square of the new design, restored the corner. But then another place was to be found for the steeple. The church stood about forty feet backward from the high street; and, by purchasing the ground of one private house, not yet rebuilt, he was enabled to bring the steeple forward so as to range with the street-houses in Cheapside. Here, to his surprise, he sank about eighteen feet deep through made ground, and then imagined that he was come to the natural soil, and hard gravel; but, upon full examination, it appeared to be a Roman causeway of rough stone, close and well rammed with Roman brick and rubbish at the bottom, for a foundation, and all firmly cemented. This causeway was four feet thick.^a Underneath this causeway lay the natural clay, over which that part of the city stands, and which descends at least forty feet lower. He concluded then to lay the foundation of the tower upon the very Roman causeway, as most proper to bear what he had designed, a weighty and lofty structure. He was of opinion, for divers reasons, that this highway ran along the north boundary of the colony. The breadth then," of London (says Maitland), "north and south, was from the causeway, now Cheapside,

^a Here Maitland or his editor interposes a notice of the Appian Way, as measured by Montfaucon, viz., "3 Parisian feet, or 3 feet 2½ inches English" measure.

to the river Thames; the extent east and west, from Tower Hill to Ludgate; and the principal middle street, Prætorian Way, was Watling Street.”^a

12. To avoid any wrong issue, I shall merely suppose that we understand *city* for *colony* in this passage; and I shall not at present enter into any question of internal measurement of the city, which alone would destroy this theory of the original extent of London northward. Let me refer the Society to a bare comparison of the proportions of the city or colony, as suggested by these eminent authors, with the site described in my former paper, and delineated on my map, for a sufficient proof of the unsoundness of that theory. It so happens, however, that I am able to disprove it by tangible and unquestionable facts. For, if the solid foundation, so discovered and used by Sir Christopher Wren, were part of a “causeway,” it certainly differs from every other causeway, road, or way, hitherto found in Britain; and it ought to be traced at other points of the same line, measuring east and west. But no such trace has been found elsewhere, and I have taken special care to observe and inquire, in recent excavations made by the City authorities, since my former paper was read, whether any trace of road, pavement, foundation, or causeway, could be found, at the intersection of that line, first at Friday Street, (the next lane to the westward,) and secondly at Bow Lane, immediately to the eastward; but not the least sign of any such thing could be found. In the one place the workmen dug and tunnelled to the depth of 27 feet, to connect the Friday Street sewer with the main sewer in Cheapside; and in the other case they went down 17 feet, to effect the like at Bow Lane. But it is obvious that the depth of 18 feet is too great for any antient roadway to be found in London, and the remains having been found under a house, and not under the street, explain themselves. They must have been the solid flooring of some ancient building, a cellar or crypt, and nothing that ever could have been above ground in ancient or modern times.

13. It now remains that I should account for those ornamental floors which have been discovered under the roadway in London. Such discoveries have been made in one locality only, so far as I am aware; and, though the difficulty of accounting for their occurrence in such a situation has been hitherto considered great or insurmountable, it appears, on my hypothesis of the primitive situation and subsequent enlargement of London, easily capable of explanation. Our able and zealous Vice-President, Mr. Tite, has rightly supposed that the locality in which tessellated pavements have been discovered, viz., in Threadneedle Street, in Broad Street, and in Leadenhall Street, was one abounding with suburban mansions. So

^a Maitland's History of London, continued by Entick, London, 1774, fol. vol. i. pp. 14, 15.

they were, if the old city lay westward of Walbrook; but when the inclosure of the suburbs took place, in or about the time of Constantine the Great, there needed to be a proper distribution of roads, streets, and lanes consistently with the extended line of circumvallation and the situation of the bridge over the Thames. Hence the obstruction of the thoroughfare of Broad Street, the erection of Threadneedle Street, and, above all, the formation of a new street directly from Cheapside to Aldgate.

14. This new street is carefully laid out, with considerable engineering skill, and with exact measurements. It corrects the inconvenient bend of the old Portway, viz., Lombard Street and Fenchurch Street, and strikes a line from two such points of it as to make to it, as to a bow, a string of exactly half a Roman mile in length, that is, from the old south-western point of Cornhill, to the south-eastern point of Leadenhall Street. A short distance eastward was placed Aldgate, which thus afforded a direct outlet from the market-place, Cheap, and a three-fold outlet from the arterial communication between the two great roads, "Stoney Street," from the south of Britain, over the Bridge, and "Ermin Street," from the north, by Bishopsgate Street; the third communication being Poor Jewry Lane (now Jewry Street,) and Hart Street, which joined the southern branch of the Watling Street (viz., Tower Street,) by means of Mark Lane, in the stead of the northern branch, then cut off from Rosemary Lane by the course of the new wall.

15. The "new street," which we call Cornhill and Leadenhall Street, necessarily passed through a suburb of good houses; and some of them must have been demolished for the purpose of the new thoroughfare. This is the way in which I account for the discovery of their deeper floors below the street at or near the India House; and I think that I can discover, in the very neighbourhood of that spot, evidence showing that the ground was originally laid out for mansions and gardens, and not as the western or primitive part of the city, which appears to have been all laid out at first in streets and lanes, the original course of which, over the site of St. Paul's Cathedral, can yet be recovered, by means of Roman measures, and Roman principles of engineering. These latter I decline to enter upon at present, for a reason that I trust will be deemed sufficient, the necessity under which I feel myself of not anticipating too soon the most distinguishing contents of an important public work, already adverted to in this paper. I hope, however, that I shall find a future opportunity of communicating to this Society some further observations on the site and antiquities of the Metropolis and its cognate cities, when I shall be able to illustrate them with diagrams, or prove them by measures and figures.

IV.—*Sketch of British and Roman London.* By THOMAS LEWIN, *Esq.*,
M.A., F.S.A.

Read May 11th, 1865.^a

It is a commonly received opinion that London was planted by the Romans, and that before their arrival London had no existence. In the following remarks I propose—1. To show that London was, *ab origine*, a British city. 2. To endeavour to define what was the primitive site of it; and 3. To point out the gradual growth of London under the Roman domination.

1. Had our metropolis been founded by the Romans one would naturally expect that it would bear a Roman name; but it is agreed on all hands, that whatever be the etymology, it must be sought for in the old Celtic language. Some derive it from Lhawn-dyn, the Full City; others from Lhong-din, the City of Ships; others from Lhyn-din, the City of Waters; others, with more probability, from Lud-din, the City of Lud; but no one has ever suggested a *Roman* derivation. We need not, however, rely on the evidence of etymology, for there are facts mentioned in history which compel the conclusion that London was a British city long before the entrance of the Romans. It is well known, as can be proved from Cæsar himself, and from the comments of Strabo,^a Tacitus,^b and others, that Cæsar “made the discovery, but not the conquest of Britain.” Indeed, at the close of his second campaign he did not leave a single soldier in the island. From that time forward, for nearly a century, *i. e.*, for ninety-five years, no new attempt was made, and Britain remained intact.^c It was in the reign of Claudius that Bericus, or Vericus, being ejected from his native state in Britain, made an appeal to Rome, and, as a favourable opportunity now presented itself, it was determined once more to try the dangerous experiment of invasion. In A.D. 42 (and this date must be carried in mind,) Aulus Plautius was commissioned by Claudius to embark, with a considerable army, from Boulogne, for Britain. At first the troops refused to venture across the ocean to a country regarded as outside the world; and this insubordination reached to such a height that ultimately Narcissus, one of Claudius’s chief ministers, was despatched from Rome to quell the mutiny. The soldiery were at

^a Being the substance of remarks made, partly orally, November 26th, 1863, and partly in writing, February 11th, 1864.

^b Lib. iv. c. 6.

^c Agric. c. 13.

^d Vacui a securibus et tributis. Tac. Ann. xii. c. 34.

last pacified, and Plautius set sail. What most contributed to dissipate the superstitious fears of the legions was the happy omen of a meteor, which, rising from the east, shot across the heavens to the west, thus shedding a glory upon the direction of their voyage. As the embarkation was at Boulogne the course of the fleet could not, therefore, have been eastward, towards Deal, but westward, towards Hythe, in the track of the great Julius.^a

The Britons, after a century's peace, were taken by surprise, and a landing was effected without opposition. The Britons, however, were soon up in arms, and the contest began. Plautius, with disciplined legions against raw recruits, was an overmatch for our ancestors, and defeated successfully Caractacus and Togodumnus, the two sons of Cunobelin king of the Trinobantes. In the following year (A.D. 43), Camulodunum (Colchester, the British city first named in history), the capital of Caractacus and Togodumnus (for Cunobelin himself was dead), lay at the mercy of the conqueror, when Plautius, like a true courtier, hurried off a dispatch to Claudius, urging him to cross into Britain and gather the laurels which another had won. That weak and vain-glorious monarch, far from scorning to reap what he had not sown, started in a great flurry for Britain, and putting himself at the head of the army, marched upon Camulodunum. The city of course was taken, and Claudius was saluted as Imperator, not once only, as was the ancient custom for a whole war, but again and again for this single exploit. Claudius was only sixteen days in Britain; but such were his achievements, in his own opinion, during this brief period, that in consequence of them he assumed the name of Britannicus; his son was called Britannicus; triumphal arches were erected in Rome and in Gaul, and a grand festival at Rome was decreed him by the Senate.^b Plautius, meanwhile, pushed his successes in Britain, and a few years later Valerius Scapula and Suetonius Paullinus still further extended the Roman borders, until, in A.D. 61, the greater part of South Britain was brought under the Roman yoke.

Claudius returned to Italy early in A.D. 44, and two months after, on the intelligence of his arrival reaching Judea, King Agrippa, of whom Claudius was the great patron, celebrated a festival at Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Palestine, in honour of the auspicious event. It was at this festival, recorded by St. Luke, Acts xii. 21, and Josephus, Ant. xix. 8, 2, that Agrippa, amid the acclamations that he was a god, was struck by the hand of death, and dropped into his grave.

It was in A.D. 61, while Suetonius was at a distance in the Isle of Man, that two of the British States, the Iceni and Trinobantes, *i. e.*, Norfolk, Suffolk, and

^a Dion, lx. 19.

^b Dion, lx. 22.

Essex, galled and stung by the horrid atrocities practised against them, and which even the Roman writers do not attempt to palliate, broke out into open rebellion. They smote the small Roman garrison quartered at Camulodunum, the capital of the Trinobantes, and then marched westward in the direction of London and Verulamium, the two principal cities that had not joined their standard. Suetonius hastened back and reached London before the storm burst over it; but neither London nor Verulamium were fortified, and neither offered a good military post against overwhelming numbers. Suetonius, therefore, abandoned them to their fate, and, according to Tacitus,^a 70,000, or, according to Dion,^b 80,000 human beings were massacred in these two cities.

As this calamity occurred in A.D. 61, that is, only 19 years after the first arrival of the Romans in Britain in A.D. 42, I ask whether it is possible that, during that brief interval, London could have sprung into existence, and attained to such a magnitude as to have furnished, say only one-half of the 70,000 or 80,000 inhabitants who were the victims of that outbreak. Had London been planted by the Romans, it would have been settled as a colony, like Camulodunum, or a *municipium*, like Verulamium, or at least have been a strong military post; whereas the very reason why the Iceni and Trinobantes assaulted it was that, while it invited attack from its wealth, it had not the means of defending itself.^c London is described by the historian at this time, A.D. 61, as of the greatest celebrity, from its crowd of merchants and the extent of its commerce,^d and it must have attained to this height of prosperity, not under the auspices of the Romans, who did not patronise it, but by the silent progress of trade, a work that could not by any possibility have been accomplished in the short period of 19 years. Besides, the constant warfare which had been going on during that period would rather have marred than made its importance.

Here the question may naturally be asked, is it so clear that Britain *was* a trading country before it had the benefit of Roman civilisation? In the first place, there can be little doubt that so early as under the old Jewish monarchy the tin mentioned in the prophetic books was obtained by the Jews through the Phœnicians from Britain. At all events, in the fifth century B.C. Herodotus, the father of history, speaks of the tin of his day as imported from Britain.^e He

^a Tac. Ann. xiv. 33.

^b Dion, lxii. 1.

^c Barbari, omisso castellis præsidisque militarium, quod uberrimum spoliendi et defendentibus intutum, læti prædâ et aliorum segnes, potebant. Tac. Ann. xiv. 33.

^d Cognomento quidem coloniæ non insigne sed copiâ negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre. Tac. Ann. xiv. 33.

^e "Οὐτε νήσους οἶδα Κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας ἐκ τῶν ὁ κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾷ. Herod. iii. 115.

could get no information about the country itself, because the Phœnicians, who had then the monopoly of the trade, made a secret of it, giving out merely that they procured the tin from "Britain," the Phœnician for the Tin-land (כְּנִיז אֶרֶץ), which the Greeks translated into *Cassiterides* or Tin Islands. However, the Romans afterwards unravelled the mystery, and then shared the trade with the Phœnicians.^a In the time of Cæsar, i.e. B.C. 55, Britain had evidently a considerable commerce, more particularly with Gaul. Indeed Britain must then have been a naval power, for the assistance which she sent to the Veneti in Gaul was made the pretext for invasion.^b It is particularly mentioned also that the south of Britain yielded iron;^c and in these days, when we hear so much of the stone age, the bronze age, and the iron age, we may remark by the way that the Britons had thus already at least emerged beyond the two first stages towards civilisation. Strabo, who wrote about 70 years after Cæsar, and about a quarter of a century before the first settlement of the Romans in Britain under Plautius, furnishes some curious particulars about the trade of Britain. He says that the principal traffic carried on with Britain was from the Rhine, the Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne,^d and he enumerates the chief articles both of export and import. Among the former were tin, lead, iron, gold, silver, hides, corn, cattle, slaves, and hounds, and the imports in return for these raw materials were earthenware, copper vessels,^e ivory bracelets, necklaces, glass, and salt.^f As to gold and silver, they are both still found in the island, and one mine in Wales, as I have been informed, yielded a short time since, in the very first year it was worked, the amount of £12,000 in gold. Our concern, however, at present, is more particularly with the corn, cattle, and hides, for these exports must have been chiefly drawn from the midland counties, and must have passed down the great highway of the Thames. If so, there must from the earliest times have been a great commercial port upon that river; and, as in A.D. 61 we find London described as just such a mart, "*copia negotiatorum et commeatum maximè celebre*,"^g I think we are fully justified in the conclusion that London was a city of commercial importance long before the arrival of Plautius, 19 years previously. We know as a fact, that Camulodunum was a flourishing British city before the landing of the Romans in the time of Plautius,^h and, if so, London, which enjoyed far greater local advantages, must also have been a British city.

^a Strabo, iii. 5.^b B. G., iii. 9; iv. 20.^c B. G., v. 12.^d Strabo, iv. 5.^e Χαλκουργία. Strabo iii. 5, which agrees with Cæsar's statement, *Ære vasorum imperatores*. B. G. v. 12.^f Strabo, iii. 5, iv. 6.^g Tac. Ann. xiv. 53.^h Dion. lx. 21.

2. As to the site of *British* London, let me glance first at the præ-historic period. When Sir Christopher Wren excavated the foundations for St. Paul's, he first cut through the ordinary *débris* of a city, and then came upon Saxon graves, and below them upon the Roman and ancient British graves, the latter being distinguished by the ivory and wooden pins, &c., that were intermixed. Below these was a layer of pot-earth six feet thick, and then a sand-bed, in the lower part of which were found periwinkles and other sea shells, and under that was a hard sea-beach, and then for the first time came the London clay, the natural soil.^a The deduction drawn from these discoveries at the time was, that ere the Thames had deposited the flats and marshes that now shut it in, the sea flowed freely up the estuary and had washed the shore that now underlies London. The hill on which St. Paul's stands was concluded to have been a sand drift from the sea by force of the wind. We observe similar sandhills along the coast at the north of Deal, and on a larger scale in the Pas de Calais; and in Egypt and Palestine these sand drifts rise into mountains, and gradually spread over and destroy, for all purposes of cultivation, the adjoining plains. However, one phenomenon must not be lost sight of, viz., wherever there is a stream it forces a passage, and, preventing the sand from accumulating, forms a valley. At London there were two streams, one on the west, the river Flete, up which the Danes once sailed; and the other on the east, now called Wallbrook, up which, as Stowe tells us, barges were wont to pass at high water as far as Bucklersbury.^b Upon the hill which lay between the river Flete on the west, and Wallbrook on the east, was seated the germ of British London. The extent of it can only be traced by following the British names that still hang about some of its boundaries. On the west was Lud-gate, so called from Lud, the founder, or at least one of the ancient kings of London, or Lud-town. The name of Lud is familiar enough in the Celtic family, under the various forms of Ludovicus, Clodovæus, or Clovis. On the east was Dowgate, a corruption of the Celtic Dwrgate or watergate, and so called either from its leading directly by a bridge over the stream known as Wallbrook, or from being the starting-place of the ferry over the Thames. Across the space intercepted between Ludgate and Dowgate ran the principal thoroughfare of the city, Watling Street, which at that time pursued a direct undeviating course from one gate to the other, without any break where is now the site of St. Paul's. On the south the city was naturally bounded by the marshes of the Thames, not yet embanked. What was the limit on the north can be only conjecture; but that British London did not reach far towards the north will be seen when we come to the examination of London as a Roman city. The little port of the rising town may have been Queen Hythe, the latter

^a Parentalia, p. 285.^b Encyclop. Lond. vol. xiii. p. 426.

word being the Saxon for harbour. The line of fortification for the protection of the settlement was necessarily of a simple and rude character, for Cæsar's description of a British town is "*oppidum Britanni vocant, quum sylvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt.*"^a We must conclude, therefore, that the ramparts of London were merely an earthwork with a fosse before it. No city in Britain had, in the days of Cæsar, any more elaborate fortification, or the historian would have mentioned it. The English word "wall" represents not only a defence of brick or stone, but also an embankment or earthwork, as in the instance of the Rhee wall, &c.; and we probably have in Wallbrook a trace of the old earthwork that inclosed the ancient British city on the east.

I venture here to propound a theory which may be fairly open to question, but has much argument in its favour, viz., that British London was the very capital of Cassivellaunus, taken and sacked by Cæsar. The traditional notion no doubt is, that Cassivellaunus was king of the Cassi, and that Verulamium was his capital; but to this there are serious if not invincible objections. Had the Cassi been his own subjects, how, when he was still in the field with 4,000 war chariots, could the Cassi have been amongst the first to surrender themselves to the invader.^b The narrative that Cassivellaunus was induced to come to terms from the ravage of his own territory and the *defection of the states* from his banner, leads to the inference that the Cassi were not the subjects, but the allies, of Cassivellaunus.^c Had Verulamium been his capital, how is it conceivable that the Cassi, whose city it was, should have been the very persons who invited Cæsar to sack it, and guided him to his prey?^d Had Cassivellaunus been the chieftain of a small district in Hertfordshire, like the hundred of Cassio, how could he have conquered the Trinobantes, the people of Essex, have slain their king Imanuentius, and made his son Mandubratius an exile?^e Cassivellaunus was evidently the most powerful prince in Britain, and as such was by the universal voice declared the generalissimo of the whole British confederacy.^f We may collect from the commentaries with sufficient accuracy for our purpose the position of his dominions. They are said to have been divided from the maritime or southern states by the river called the

^a Bell. Gall. v. 21.

^b Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, Cassi, legationibus missis, sese Cæsari dederunt. Ibid.

^c Vastatis finibus, maxime etiam permotus defectione civitatum. Ibid. v. 22.

^d Ab his (the Cassi) cognoscit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse. Ibid. v. 21.

^e Imanuentius in ea civitate (the Trinobantes) regnum obtinuerat interfectusque erat a Cassivellauno, ipse (Mandubratius) fugâ mortem vitaverat. Ibid. v. 20.

^f Summa imperii bellique administrandi, communi consilio permissa est Cassivellauno. Ibid. v. 11.

Thames, at the distance of about eighty miles from the sea.^a The eighty miles may be measured either from the east at the mouth of the Thames, and so be taken to indicate the commencement of Cassivellaunus's domain, or they may be measured from the sea coast on the south, and so denote the distance of the river from Cæsar's landing place. The latter is, perhaps, the more natural and obvious meaning. At all events, this much is clear, that his territory extended along the northern bank of the Thames; and as he had conquered the Trinobantes, whose western borders was the river Lea, we may safely assume that his sovereignty began from that boundary, and stretched away westward so as to comprise at least Middlesex and Hertfordshire. In his passage across the Thames, Cæsar makes no allusion to the tide, and he availed himself of a ford where the water was only up to the neck, and the passage therefore was effected beyond Teddington (or Tide-end-Town), and yet it was still within the borders of Cassivellaunus.^b Now the people who occupied the tract between the river Lea on the east and the Thames on the south, are called by Ptolemy the Catyeuchlani^c, and by Dion the Catvellani,^d and these names so nearly resemble Cassivellani that the surmise suggests itself that Cæsar by Cassivellaunus does not mean an individual at all; but the chief of the Catyeuchlani or Catvellani, who, with a slight variation, might have been called Cassivellauni. It is at least a singular coincidence, if this explanation be not accepted, that the subjects of Cassivellaunus should have been a people so nearly resembling his own name. From Cæsar's account of the territory of Cassivellaunus, it is clear that London was within his dominions; and, as in less than a century afterwards, London is described as a city of great importance and of vast population, much more so than Verulamium, which occupies a subordinate place in the narrative of Tacitus, we may fairly conclude that London was in the time of Cæsar the capital of the Catyeuchlani, that is, of the Cassivellauni. Indeed, there is strong ground for thinking that the pre-eminence which Cassivellaunus had acquired over the other states was owing to the wealth brought into his coffers by the mercantile prosperity of his chief city, London.

Let us now see how far the few notices to be found in Cæsar relative to the capital of Cassivellaunus agree with the site of ancient London. Cæsar, on crossing the Thames, had marched into Essex, as is evident from the statement that his

^a Cujus fines a maritimis civitatibus flumen dividit quod appellatur Thamesis, a mari circiter millia passuum lxxx. Bell. Gall. v. 11.

^b In fines Cassivellauni exercitum duxit. Ibid. v. 18.

^c Καρυευχλανοί. Ptol. lib. 2, c. 3.

^d Κατουμελλανοί. Dion, lx. 20.

soldiers were strictly prohibited from pillaging the Trinobantes.^a While he was in that part, he was apprised by the Cassi and others who had sought his protection that the capital of Cassivellaunus was not far off;^b and this answers to London, which is only a few miles from the borders of Essex. Cæsar, upon this, marched against the city and attacked it on two sides, that is, on the east and north, the two quarters that lay before him on his arrival; and the Britons being overpowered by the legions fled out of the city by the only other available side, viz., the west.^c The town itself is described by Cæsar as strong, both naturally and artificially,^d and defended by woods and marshes.^e How exactly this tallies with the site of British London, seated on a hill between Ludgate and Dowgate, and surrounded on the south by the marshes of the Thames, on the west by the marshes of the river Flete, on the east by the marshes of the Wallbrook, and on the north partly by marshes,^f and partly by the vast forest, which was not finally cleared until the reign of Henry II.^g

3. I now come to speak of the extension of London under *Roman* domination. As London was the great mart and port of the country, it would naturally soon attract to it the mercantile part of the Roman community. It was certainly in the *power* of the conquerors to take forcible possession of the area already occupied by the British; but in the rudest times some respect is paid to the rights of property, and the Romans appear to have selected for their settlements the outlying spaces not already peopled by the aborigines. Westward, indeed, the river Flete coursed through a deep valley, and this presented a serious obstacle to the expansion of the city in that direction, and I am not aware that any vestiges of the Romans have been discovered to the west of Ludgate. But on the east side was the small and comparatively insignificant stream of Wallbrook, running along a shallow valley, and easily spanned by bridges. It was in this quarter that the Roman merchants first began to erect their villas. The initiatory step in a plantation by this extraordinary people was invariably the construction of a solid road, after the pattern of the Via Appia, and this was now done in continuation of Watling Street. But while the latter had run, as convenience led, in an oblique direction through the old British town from Ludgate to Dowgate, the new

^a Trinobantibus defensio atque ab omni militum injuriâ prohibitis. Bell. Gall. v. 21.

^b Ab his cognovit non longe ex eo loco oppidum Cassivellauni abesse. Ibid. v. 21.

^c Duabus ex partibus oppugnare contendit. Hostes sese ex aliâ parte oppidi ejecerunt. Ibid. v. 28.

^d Locum reperit egregie naturâ atque opere munitum. Ibid. v. 21.

^e Silvis paludibusque munitum. Ibid. v. 21.

^f See Parentalia, p. 265.

^g Encycl. Londin. article "London," vol. xiii. p. 54.

thoroughfare was carried, in accordance with Roman regularity, in a straight line parallel to the river. Traces of this Roman road, the *Via Principalis*, were found some years since in Cannon Street, at the depth of 5 feet below the present surface, and in a line which, if extended, would have run into Watling Street.^a The necessary appendage of a Roman town was a forum or market; this we should naturally look for in close proximity to the leading street; and here, accordingly, we find it. The name of East Chepe still survives, though that of West Chepe has disappeared. Besides, from the Roman forum, as the central point, all their road distances must have been measured; and it is almost universally allowed that the famous London Stone, which can be traced back in history to near the Roman times, was once the *milliarium*, or standard, from which the miles on the Roman roads were computed. This venerable monument is said to be granite, and readily yields fire when struck with steel.^b It now stands on the north side of Cannon Street, but its original place was on the opposite side of the way. When it was removed after the Fire of London, it was found to rest upon what Wren calls "large foundations," such as indicated, from the pains taken, an important position. On the south side of it was also a fine tessellated pavement.^c I have seen it stated—I know not how truly—that the distances given in the Antonine Itinerary tally with the measurements from the London Stone.

London was certainly during the Roman dominion the capital or metropolis of the southern part of the island. This requires no other proof than the unquestionable fact, that all the great roads in the south radiated from this centre. A city of such consequence would of course be placed under the superintendence of a special Roman governor or *prætor*, and it was the opinion of those who watched the excavations, after the Fire of London, that they had discovered the *prætorium*, or governor's residence, in the extensive remains that were brought to light in Bush Lane. At a considerable depth under ground was found a wall of extraordinary thickness, viz., no less than 20 feet, and as this was too high up from the river to have formed part of the southern city wall, the conclusion was that it was the castle or keep occupied by the prefect; and this view received further confirmation from the unusually fine tessellated pavements met with in the immediate neighbourhood.^d

To the occupation of this quarter by the Romans may probably be attri-

^a *Archæologia*, vol. XXIV. p. 192.

^b *Encycl. Londin.* vol. xiii. p. 427.

^c *Parentalia*, p. 265.—

^d See *Encycl. Londin.* vol. xiii. p. 429; *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. p. 156.

buted one or more of the old embankments of the Thames. In preparing the ground for the new London Bridge on the north, the workmen as they advanced from the river came first upon a vertical embankment of Kentish rag, and beyond this were evident traces of jetties, docks, and quays. At the distance of 300 feet from the water's edge was found an embankment of oak and chestnut piles 2 feet square. And 60 feet further to the north was an embankment formed by trunks of elm closely packed together, and from 8 to 10 feet long.^a I have been informed by one of the most distinguished members of this Society, that when in his boyhood the foundations were dug for the Custom House, no less than five different embankments were discovered in successive lines. Some of these may have been the work of the Romans; but some, I conceive, may also be credited to the ancient Britons. The aborigines, before the arrival of Cæsar, had learned the art of extracting tin and iron, and had thousands of war chariots, and had sent naval assistance to the Veneti in Gaul; and it is idle to suppose that they could not form an embankment, a work within the reach of even savage life. Certainly I have located British London between Ludgate and Dowgate, but it does not follow that the banks of the river were not tenanted much beyond those limits. London owed its origin and progress to its commercial advantages, and, while the nucleus of the city lay within the two gates which I have mentioned, the river side, both east and west, could be naturally occupied for a considerable distance by wharves and warehouses and the dwellings of the mercantile population.

As the quarter between Wallbrook and Billingsgate was the principal settlement of the Romans, we should of course expect to find traces of their habitations scattered over that space. Accordingly, besides the tessellated pavements to which I have referred in Cannon Street and Bush Lane, Roman remains have been met with in Crooked Lane,^b Clement's Lane,^c and at the depth of from 14 to 20 feet in King William Street.^d But it would seem that anciently the Roman occupation did not extend very far northward, for when the site of the Royal Exchange was excavated they uncovered first the usual upper surface of *débris* of houses, and then a stratum 2 feet thick of gravel, and below that was a pit 19 feet deep, filled with pottery, broken glass, lamps, old shoes, and occasionally coins of Vespasian and Domitian, and other later Emperors.^e The conclusion from the whole was that this spot must for a length of time have been without a well-peopled city. A

^a Archæologia, vol. XXV. p. 600.

^c Id. vol. XXIX. p. 272.

^e Id. vol. XXIX. p. 268.

^b Ibid.

^d Id. vol. XXVII. p. 140.

similar pit was discovered by Sir Christopher Wren, at the north-east corner of St. Paul's, near to Cheapside. It was full of broken vessels and pottery, and had evidently been dug for the extraction of the potters' earth which once existed there.^a This, therefore, must also at one time have been just without the limits of the rising metropolis.

The time, however, arrived when the more convenient parts adjacent to the river were covered with buildings, and then Roman London began to extend itself, as well to the north of *British* London, between Ludgate and Dowgate, as to the north of the *Roman* settlement, between Dowgate and Billingsgate. The first step as usual was to construct a great thoroughfare across the new northern quarter, and in the *Parentalia* we have an account of the discovery of this principal roadway running east and west, not in the exact line of Cheapside, but a little to the south of it. This curious vestige of an old Roman highway was stumbled upon in laying the foundations of Bow Church. The causeway was 18 feet under ground, and 4 feet thick, and was composed of rough stone and Roman brick, with rubble for a substratum, and under that was the natural clay. The Romans, therefore, were the first settlers, at least in this part, or some traces would have been found of British occupation. By the side of the causeway were found the walls of what appeared to have been a Roman Temple.^b This northern main street may also have served as a forum or market, for which purpose it was certainly used in after ages, when it acquired the name of Chepeside—*i.e.* market-side. The fact that this Roman highway was not in the exact line of Cheapside, but to the north of it, should make us cautious how we assume the present configuration of streets to be identical with the ancient, and this will be the more apparent from the discovery which I shall next mention. Many years since a sewer was constructed under Lombard Street, and, throughout, it was ascertained that the very ground now so well known as a leading thoroughfare had, in ancient times, been occupied by a row of Roman houses. First came a bed of factitious earth $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, then a stratum of bricks and ruins 2 feet thick, and under that was a layer of ashes of about 3 inches, as if from the fire of wooden buildings, and below the ashes were tessellated Roman pavements, and below them the virgin earth. The coins met with were those of Claudius, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, Nero, Diocletian, Gallienus, Tetricus, Constantine, and Alexander Severus.^c Upon this account we have two remarks to make: First, the layer of ashes is probably referrible to the conflagration of London during the insurrection under Boadicea; for the fury of the Britons

^a *Parentalia*, p. 286

^b *Ibid.* p. 265.

^c *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. p. 273.

would, of course, be chiefly directed against that quarter where the Romans were mainly congregated. And secondly, as the virgin soil was found immediately under the Roman pavements, the Romans must have been the first occupants at least in this district.

These remains were discovered to the east of Cheapside, but other traces of Roman habitation have come to light equally to the west, viz., on the north side of St. Paul's, and in Paternoster Row,^a in Cornhill,^b in Lothbury,^c and at the old Excise Office between Bishopsgate Street and Broad Street.^d I think it unnecessary to pursue the details further; suffice it to say, that Roman London continued to expand itself, until it attained its maximum under Constantine the Great in the first half of the fourth century, when, for the first time, London was surrounded by a massive wall of brickwork bristling with towers. Here we stand upon certain ground, as the circuit of the wall can be distinctly traced along its whole length. It began at the Tower, swept round by Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Moorgate, Aldersgate, Newgate, and Ludgate, until it again reached the river, and then ran along the northern bank in the line of Thames Street. This solid ambit for many centuries prevented London from stretching itself beyond the artificial barrier. Within were crowded streets, but immediately without the charmed line were to be seen green fields. We have still a record of the fact in the names of some of our most populous quarters, viz., in Spitalfields, Moorfields, Smithfield, and other circumjacent spots of a similar nomenclature.

^a *Archæologia*, vol. XXIX. pp. 155, 273.

^b *Id.* vol. IX. p. 273.

^c *Id.* vol. XXVII. p. 147.

^d *Id.* vol. XXIX. p. 203.

V.—*Remarks upon Holbein's Portraits of the Royal Family of England, and more particularly upon the several Portraits of the Queens of Henry the Eighth.* By JOHN GOUGH NICHOLS, ESQ., F.S.A.

Read June 4th, 1863.

THE papers which have been recently published in our *Archæologia* have established, and in some measure illustrated, the important fact in the history of art, that the great painter Hans Holbein died in the year 1543, eleven years sooner than his biographers had previously supposed.

The era of Holbein as a painter of English portraits being thus limited within the period of the sixteen years extending from 1527 to 1543, we are encouraged to re-examine with greater confidence and more care the several pictures that have hitherto been attributed to him. It is an investigation not only interesting to the possessors of such pictures, and to those who may desire to increase their knowledge of masters, but it has also an historical importance, when we regard portraits as personal monuments, which recall the guise and aspect, and renew as it were a visionary presence, of departed greatness.

The first practical step in prosecuting this inquiry is to collect and arrange the actual dates of Holbein's works, so far as they are recorded. This has been already done to some extent in our Director's Paper lately published in the *Archæologia*.^a We may then pass under review the several engraved portraits that have been attributed to his hand, particularly those which were etched by Hollar, and those which are published with his name in the two great historical series known as Houbraken's Heads and Lodge's Portraits. It will also not be unprofitable to look through, with a critical eye, the volume of Chamberlaine's *Imitations of Holbein's Drawings* in Her Majesty's collection, as they will suggest various observations of more or less importance. Among them are cases where the names hitherto assigned may be corrected with certainty; others in which doubts may be reasonably entertained; and others in which it can be shown

^a Vol. XXXIX. pp. 3 *et seq.*

that Mr. Lodge, in the biographies that accompany them, has failed to identify the individual depicted.

I propose first to offer a few remarks upon Holbein's portraits of the Royal Family.^a He came to England just too late to paint the first of Henry the Eighth's six wives. Katharine of Arragon was not deceased, but she was ill in health, distressed in mind, and living in retirement from court. Besides, some little time elapsed after Holbein's arrival into this country before he was introduced to the King's employment. But he came to court in time to paint Anne Boleyn in all her beauty, and he also delineated each of the next three Queens.

There can be little doubt that Holbein drew the King's natural son HENRY FITZROY DUKE OF RICHMOND AND SOMERSET, who lived until the 22nd of July, 1536, though his portrait (if existing) is not now recognised.^b A head of "The Lady of Richmond," the Duke's wife, occurs among the Holbein drawings at Windsor Castle.

We might expect that the portraits of Henry's children would be taken by Holbein more than once.

Of PRINCE EDWARD there are three drawings at Windsor, and also the pictures upon which I have already offered some remarks to the Society.^c

His original drawing of THE LADY MARY also remains in the portfolios at Windsor, and is copied in Chamberlaine's Imitations, but with a frown on her brow which (however characteristic it may be thought) is not seen in the original. The same head^d was etched by Hollar (reversed), from the Arundel Collection; 1647; and that artist has faithfully transmitted an obliquity in the position of the Princess's eyes, which is also perceptible in her later picture when Queen, taken by Sir Antonio More, and in our own picture at Somerset House, which was painted by Lucas von Heere in 1554.

There is another etching^e by Hollar (of like circular shape) representing a lady

^a For those of Henry VIII. attributed to him (but incorrectly), see my remarks in *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX. p. 31, corrected by Mr. Scharf's in p. 254; for those of Edward VI. pp. 20 *et seq.*

^b There was at Strawberry Hill a miniature assigned to the Duke of Richmond, of which an engraving (by R. Clamp) was published in Harding's *Biographical Mirrour*, 1794. The extraordinary costume offers no assistance towards its appropriation as a portrait: for the person is represented in a nightgown, open at the breast, and his head bound in a close cap or net-work which conceals his hair. At the sale of 1842 this miniature was sold for seven guineas and a half. It now belongs to C. S. Bale, Esq.

^c *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX. pp. 20 *et seq.*

^d In the elaborate list of Hollar's works, entitled "*Wenzel Hollar, Beschreibendes Verzeichniss seine Kupferstiche von Gustav Parthey. Berlin, 1853.*" 8vo. this is No. 1465. ^e *Ibid.* No. 1549.

in a head-dress resembling that of Mary, but with a neck covered up to the throat, and the same head also occurs among the drawings at Windsor. It is unnamed in either place, but sometimes called "Queen Katharine of Arragon." I am inclined to agree with Sir Frederic Madden^a in regarding this as a second portrait of the Lady Mary.

I am not acquainted with any picture or miniature of THE LADY ELIZABETH from the hand of Holbein. It is true that in the old guide-books to Windsor Castle we find among the pictures, "Queen Elizabeth, when Princess, by Holbein:" and Walpole mentions a picture formerly so called at Kensington. But he condemns it himself: "Over one of the doors (he says) is a picture ascribed to Holbein and supposed to be Queen Elizabeth when princess, with a book in her hand ;^b but I question both the painter and the person represented." This picture is mentioned in Vanderdoort's Catalogue of Charles the First's collection, as published by Bathoe, p. 120, No. 65.

There is a mezzotinto engraving by J. Faber, 1741, of a lady at whole length, named the Princess Elizabeth, and said to have been painted by "Holbein, 1551." This is a date now too late for us: and, besides, there is a curious note upon this print given by Granger in his Biographical History of England, showing it to be merely "an emblematical picture of a good wife."

At Holbein's death the Lady Elizabeth was not quite ten years of age: to find any portrait of her by him we must therefore look for a child.

Mr. Henry Shaw in his *Dresses and Decorations of the Middle Ages* has engraved the picture at Hampton Court of the Princess Elizabeth, holding a book with both hands before her. This has been usually attributed to Holbein, but, as it is dated 1545, it is two years too late for him.

To proceed to an examination of the portraits of Henry's six Queens, taking them in succession,—it cannot surprise us if we find those of KATHARINE OF ARRAGON sometimes assigned to Holbein, his name having alone survived where others are forgotten. It is attached to the old engraving of this Queen by R. White given in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, and to copies made from it. Her miniature in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch, from which an engraving by W. Greatbach was published by G. P. Harding in his series of *Granger Portraits*, is also attributed to Holbein. In this miniature, where her

^a Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, 8vo. 1831, p. clxxviii.

^b At Wroxton in Oxfordshire is a portrait described as Mary, when Princess, holding a book, half-length. (Madden, Privy Purse Expenses of the Princess Mary, p. clxxv.) This picture, I am informed by Mr. Scharf, belongs rather to the following century.

face agrees with her usual portrait, she holds a monkey on her left arm, and is feeding him with her right hand. In another copy of the same likeness she holds a bunch of lavender: this is engraved in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*, having been copied by G. P. Harding from a picture in the possession of the Rev. C. E. Wylde of Lambeth.

In the series of English royalty painted by Adrian van der Werff for Larrey's *Histoire d'Angleterre* (1697—1713, folio) this same head does service twice, first for Katharine of Arragon and again for Katharine Howard (both plates being engraved by Vermeulen): at least such is my impression and belief; for, whilst the costume of the latter is modified in some respects, the general outline of the first Katharine's figure, though reversed, exactly remains. The same error has been repeated in the *Pictorial History of England*.

The miniature of Katharine of Arragon formerly at Strawberry Hill^a is nearly the same as her portrait first mentioned, and is the original of the prints in Harding's *Illustrations of Shakspeare* (1791) and Park's edition of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors* (1806).

There remains to be noticed the portrait which was given for Katharine of Arragon in Houbraken's *Illustrious Heads* (1743). It is very different, both in features and costume, from her real portraiture. It was taken from a picture belonging to Sir Robert Walpole, which descended to his son Horace Earl of Orford, and was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842 for thirty-one guineas. Horace Walpole says of it in his own catalogue: "Vertue thought it to be Catharine Duchess of Bar, sister to Henry IV. of France, and so it probably is."

The portrait of Queen ANNE BOLEYNE by Holbein is perfectly well known, from numberless engravings. It is that which is published by Houbraken "from a picture in the possession of the Earl of Bradford," and in Lodge's *Portraits* from a picture at Warwick Castle.

The head attributed to her in the portfolio of Holbein's drawings at Windsor Castle represents a person in plain attire, wearing a cap tied below the chin, and apparently a female of inferior rank. Dr. Waagen^b has remarked upon it: "I am inclined to doubt whether this stout strong-featured woman be really Anne Boleyn. At all events it agrees with no other portrait of this lady (one of which, by Holbein, is in the Berlin Museum), nor with the descriptions of her person."

^a "I have Katharine of Arragon, a miniature, exquisitely finished; a round on a blue ground. It was given to the Duchess of Monmouth by Charles II. I bought it at the sale of the Lady Isabella Scott, daughter of the Duchess of Monmouth."—Walpole, in his *Anecdotes of Painting*. At the sale of 1842 it was sold for £53 8s.

^b *Art Treasures in Great Britain*, ii. 449.

Among the prints enumerated by Granger in his *Biographical History of England*, is one of "ANN BVLLEN, whole length, as Faith. H. Holbein. W. Hollar fecit, 1647. Scarce." But this appropriation is entirely fanciful. The figure wears a crown, which is probably the cause of its having been attributed to a Queen. Neither does the name of Holbein appear on the etching.

The Duke of Buckingham's miniature of Anne Boleyn was evidently a misnomer. It is known only from a private plate engraved by R. Cooper.

There is still another and very different picture which of late years has been accepted as a portrait of Anne Boleyn; but I fear somewhat incautiously. A large engraving from it was published in London in 1824, "Engraved by R. Cooper, from an original picture by Hans Holbein, in the possession of M. Woher, at Basle." The picture^a now belongs to Sir John P. Boileau, Bart., one of the Vice-Presidents of this Society, and is at Ketteringham, in Norfolk. It represents a young lady at half-length, her hands clasped across her waist. Her sleeves, which are very full, are slashed, and puffed with another material. On her neck she wears much jewellery; and on her head a velvet bonnet, also studded with jewels, and decked with a single feather on the right side. At the top of this picture is inscribed—

.1530.

ANNA . REGINA.

.HB.

Anno Etatis 27.

This inscription, whether contemporary or a modern addition, does not accord perfectly with Anne Boleyn's history. We do not know that she was twenty-seven in 1530, or whether she was not rather twenty-nine or thirty,^b but she was certainly not then a Queen. Besides, the monogram HB, though sometimes attributed to Holbein, is one which the late Mr. Douce^c enumerated among those erroneously assigned to him. On the print published in 1824, is engraved—

^a Since the text was written I am informed that Sir John Boileau's is not the same as that which belonged to M. Woher.

^b Miss Strickland, discussing the period of Anne Boleyn's birth, remarks that the date 1507 is given by Camden, but adds: "Lord Herbert, however, says expressly that Anne Boleyn was twenty years old when she returned from France in 1521, so that she must have been born about 1501." (*Lives of the Queens of England*, edit. 1860, ii. 565.) Again, "Anne Boleyn must have been in her thirty-sixth year at the time of her execution, for Cavendish tells us that her brother Lord Rochford was twenty-seven when he was appointed of the King's privy chamber. This was in 1527. The Queen was probably about a year younger, calculating her age to have been fourteen when she went to France as maid of honour to the bride of Louis XI. and thirty-two at the time of her acknowledged marriage with the King." (*Ibid.* p. 704.) But the mistress Boleyn who accompanied Queen Mary (Tudor) to France in 1515 is now believed to have been Anne's elder sister.

^c *The Dance of Death*, 8vo. 1833.

ANNE BOLEYN,

*Born anno 1503, married to Henry VIII. King of England 1530.**Beheaded 19th May, 1536.*

The actual date of her marriage is believed to have been the 25th January 1532-3: it was certainly then or thereabouts. The above inscription is evidently therefore of modern concoction.

Such are the doubts attendant upon this picture, and I think it is therefore to be regretted that it should have been adopted, not only in the *Pictorial History of England*, but also for the original of the portraiture of this Queen which has been painted in the Historical Gallery at the New Palace of Westminster. It is there converted into a full-length, as shown in the photograph now exhibited.^a

[Since the preceding remarks were written it has been ascertained that this picture really represents Anne Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, as will be found satisfactorily proved in Mr. Scharf's observations which follow this memoir.]

Of QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR there is, I believe, only one portraiture; the identity of which is well ascertained. It is engraved in Lodge's *Illustrious Portraits* from a picture in the gallery of the Duke of Bedford, at Woburn: and all the earlier engravings present the same features. Holbein's original drawing of this portrait is still in the portfolio of his works at Windsor Castle, of a larger size, because showing more of the person, than the others.

In the year 1537, the same in which this Queen died, Holbein painted upon the wall of the Privy Chamber at Whitehall a large picture representing standing figures of King Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York, King Henry VIII. and Queen Jane, inscribed AN° D. 1537. A reduced copy of this picture, which was destroyed in the fire of 1697, had been made in 1667, by Remée van Leemput, a scholar of Vandyck, for which Charles II. paid him 150*l*. It is now at Hampton Court, and from that copy Vertue engraved his large print, which is one of the historical series of this Society.

There is a picture of Queen Jane Seymour by Holbein in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna,^b and it bears the same date 1537.

A miniature of her at Windsor Castle painted by Hilliard, is inscribed ANO DNĪ

^a Photographs from the series in the Palace of Westminster are sold at the South Kensington Museum.

^b No. 61, page 200, of Albert Kraft's *Catalogue de la Galerie au Belvédère à Vienne*, 8vo. 1845. "Demi figg. Petite nature, Bois h. 2' 1 1 5½," no date given. It is also engraved, Plate 16, of Stampart and Prenner's *Prodromus*, fol. 1735.

1536 *ÆTATIS SVÆ* 27. This inscription, which doubtless appeared also on the original from which Hilliard copied, offers evidence perhaps not elsewhere to be found of her age when Queen. [See Mr. Scharf's account of this miniature hereafter.]^a

Another miniature now in the possession of Mr. Charles Sackville Bale, and which formerly belonged to the Duke of Buckingham, was engraved when in his Grace's possession by R. Cooper (as a private plate) under the name of Queen Jane Seymour.^b [In the subsequent remarks of Mr. Scharf will be found his reasons for assigning it to Anne Boleyn.]

The production of the portrait of Queen ANNA OF CLEVES was one of the most memorable incidents in Holbein's career. He was sent from England for the purpose in the summer of 1539. On the 11th of August in that year Dr. Nicholas Wotton wrote from Duren to the King:^c "Your Grace's servante Hanze Albein hath taken th'effigies of my Lady Anne and the Ladye Amelye [her sister], and hathe expressyd their images verye livelye." And on the 1st of September Marillac, the French Ambassador in London, writes in his dispatches homewards, "King Henry had sent a painter, who is very excellent in his art, to Germany, to take a portrait to the life of the Duke of Cleves' sister; to-day he is arrived."

Houbraken engraved his portrait of Anna of Cleves from this miniature, in the year 1739, when it was in the possession of Mr. Barrett of Lee Priory near Canterbury. It is now in the Douce collection at Goderich Court, and was exhibited by Colonel Meyrick at Manchester in 1857. It is preserved in an ivory box, which represents a rose, and which is so delicately carved as to be worthy of the

^a It was one of four miniatures, all still preserved in the Royal collection, which were attached to a jewel that is thus described in Vanderdoort's Catalogue:—

Done both Jewel and Picture by Old Hilliard. 42. Item, a 4-fold little round Golden Jewel with a little pendent pearl hanging to it, which Jewel on the outside is enamel'd with the [Battle] of Bosworth fields between

King Henry the 7th. and Crook-back Richard, on the other side of the Jewel the Red and White Roses join'd together upon some green ground. Within this Jewel are four Limn'd Pictures: one being King Henry the 7th., another being King Henry the 8th. and his Queen Jane Seymour, and King Henry [this should be Edward] the 6th., all without Christals. Which Jewel was given to the King by the Young Hilliard by the deceas'd Earl of Pembroke's means.—[From p. 112 of the *Windsor MS.*]

^b It is mentioned under the same designation in the Catalogue of the Antiquities and Works of Art exhibited at Ironmongers' Hall in 1861, p. 96. It is said to have come from the Seymour family, and to have been given by Charles, Duke of Somerset, to his granddaughter Elizabeth Wyndham, wife of the Right Hon. George Grenville.

^c Ellis's Original Letters, I. ii. 122.

treasure it enshrines; and a corresponding box, in the same museum, contains a miniature of Henry VIII. The most effective copy of the Queen's portrait is the etching by Hollar^a dated 1648. (No. 1343 of Parthey.)

At the great sale of Mr. Bernal's Collection, in 1855, there was a portrait called Anna of Cleves, of a very different cast of countenance, but with elaborate jewellery displayed upon her neck, corresponding in that respect so closely with the portrait of Anna, that it seems very probable that this may have been the picture which Holbein took of her sister Amelia. This was painted on vellum, 15 inches by 14, and was sold for 183*l.* 15*s.* There is a slight engraving of it in Henry G. Bohn's *Illustrated Catalogue of the Bernal Collection*, 12mo. 1857, No. 927, and it is there stated that "there is a duplicate of this in the Louvre."

The portrait of QUEEN KATHARINE HOWARD, taken by Holbein, is as clearly ascertained as that of Queen Jane Seymour, and yet there have arisen some misapprehensions in regard to it. The etching by Hollar, in 1646,^a and the engraving by Houbraken, nearly a century later, are both from a miniature which, at the former period, was in the collection of the Earl of Arundel, and at the latter belonged to Richardson the painter; and which was subsequently at Strawberry Hill; afterwards Mr. Coningham's, and now the Duke of Buccleuch's. In the royal collection at Windsor Castle is a rather large circular miniature (of 2½ inches diameter) of the same head, likewise attributed to Holbein's own hand. Among the Holbein drawings is also one named Katharine Howard; the position and the head-dress agree exactly with the Queen's portrait, but the features do not appear to correspond, particularly in the nose, which is much shorter, as will be observed in Chamberlaine's print, and the copy made in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*.

Van der Werff's portrait of Katharine Howard appears extremely doubtful

^a A head in profile, etched by Hollar (Parthey, No. 1545), is attributed by Granger and others to Anne of Cleves, but probably only on a fanciful conjecture.

^b Parthey, No. 1546. "Cath. Howard, a miniature, damaged. It was Richardson's, who bought it out of the Arundelian collection. It is engraved among the *Illustrious Heads*, and by Hollar, who called it Mary Queen of France, wife of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk." (Walpole, in *Anecdotes of Painting*.) I do not find that Hollar misnamed it, for no name whatever is attached to his etching. Granger says that "Vertue took this head for that of Mary Queen of France. See *Anecd. of Painting*, vol. i. p. 95, 2nd. edition." The modern historian of the Queens has associated it with the younger Mary Tudor; she says, "The portrait engraved by Houbraken with an axe, fasces [really a torch], and a mourning cupid, entitled Queen Katharine Howard, is indubitably the Princess Mary, about the age of 30. It is nearly a fac-simile in features, dress, and attitude, with her portrait in the family group at Hampton Court, only at a more advanced age." (*Lives of the Queens*, edit. 1858, iii. 389.) But this is a groundless imagination.

The head-dress is not arched in a semicircle over the forehead, as in the genuine portrait just noticed, but is angular, according to the earlier fashion; and I have already expressed my opinion that it is really the portrait of Katharine of Arragon reversed.

It is doubtful whether Holbein ever painted QUEEN KATHARINE PARR, who was not married to the King until the 12th July, 1543, in which year Holbein died in the month of November. Her portrait, engraved by R. White in Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, is attributed to his name.

That engraved by Adrian Van der Werff for Larrey's *Histoire d'Angleterre* is of a lady wearing a falling ruff, and a small jewelled cap on the top of her head, who probably lived in the next century. But even this print has sometimes been copied in this country by ignorant or careless artists.

It is remarkable that a head equally distant from the truth should have been given for Katharine Parr in Lodge's *Illustrious Portraits*. For that work a picture was adopted which was in the possession of the late Mr. Dawson Turner. It is only necessary to place it next her true picture to show from how very different a person it was taken. We find it, however, chosen to represent Katharine Parr in Burder's *Lives of Pious Women* (a print with her autograph underneath), and probably there are other copies.

Of Queen Katharine Parr's real portraiture there is a fine whole-length at Newnham Padox, the seat of the Earl of Denbigh. This has been copied by Mr. Burchett for the Royal Gallery at the New Palace of Westminster. It is identical with the picture at Glendon Hall, Northamptonshire, of which the owner, John Booth, Esq., presented an engraving (at whole length) by W. S. Wilkinson to Mr. Baker's History of that county. It is there attributed to Holbein.

The Portrait of Katharine Parr in Park's edition of Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, 1806, and a previous engraving by S. Harding, 1803, were from a true miniature at Strawberry Hill, which was sold for ten guineas in 1842. Not so the prints by J. Thane and by W. Herbert, 1806, from a picture at Lambeth Palace. The latter may possibly be Katharine of Arragon.^a

The great picture now at Hampton Court of THE FAMILY OF HENRY THE EIGHTH (measuring 10 feet by 6), represents Queen Katharine Parr^b seated by his

^a See Mr. Scharf's remarks on this picture hereafter.

^b Called Jane Seymour by Dr. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, 1854, iii. 366. Waagen remarks that "Mary is here represented younger and prettier than Elizabeth." The truth is merely this,

side; his right hand on the shoulder of Prince Edward, who is standing; and the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth on either hand, also standing; together with the male and female jesters of the court, Will Sommers and Jane the Fool, at the extreme sides of the picture. The Prince appears to be about seven years of age, which would place the painting of this piece in the year 1544. This picture has not been engraved; but a very careful outline of it, by Richard Smirke, R.A., is in the possession of this Society. The heads of the Princesses have been published: that of Mary sometimes for Elizabeth, and (strange to say!) for both Mary and Elizabeth in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*, though in one print looking to the right and in the other to the left. She wears on her neck a cross set with rubies, having three pearls dependent. Elizabeth wears in the same way a jewel of the letter A, having within it a large pendant pear pearl. This probably was meant for the initial of her mother, Anne Boleyn, to whom the jewel may have belonged. This portrait has also been inserted in the later editions of Miss Strickland's work, an engraving much superior in quality to most in the book.

On the whole, it will be perceived, as the result of these investigations, that it is necessary to exercise much caution and discrimination if we desire to be supplied with true and faithful historical portraits. As there are many forgeries of coins and medals, so there are many fabricated or mistaken pictures and misnamed engravings. Some of the heads inserted in the National Galleries of historical portraits which go by the names of Houbraken and Lodge are well known to be erroneous; and the same is the case in the more popular book called *The Pictorial History of England*, as I have in part shown. I propose to pursue my examination so far as the name and period of Holbein are concerned, including the appropriation assigned to Holbein's drawings now at Windsor Castle, in the volume of *Imitations* edited by Chamberlaine, which is accompanied with memoirs written by Mr. Lodge; and, should my observations be welcome, I shall be happy to offer them to this Society, as a sequel to the present paper.

that their names are misplaced as painted on the frame. In the same way Jane the Fool is misnamed "the wife of Will Sommers." Will Sommers also accompanies Henry the Eighth and his children in a picture belonging to the Earl of Bessborough, engraved by F. Bartolozzi, R.A., 1800; and Henry the Eighth and his daughter Mary, in a picture at Althorpe, engraved by W. Holl in Dibdin's *Ædes Althorpianae*, 1821.

VI.—*Notes on several of the Portraits described in the preceding Memoir, and on some others of the like character.* By GEORGE SCHARF, Esq., F.S.A.

Partly Read June 4th and June 11th, 1863.

1. The portrait of QUEEN KATHARINE OF ARRAGON, engraved in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens*, seems to be the counterpart of a picture formerly in the Lee Priory Collection, and now in the National Portrait Gallery. In this picture the eyes are very dark grey; but in all other portraits that I have seen they are either paler grey or blue.

2. The portrait engraved as QUEEN ANNE BOLEYNE by R. Cooper, inscribed—

ANNA . REGINA.

.1530.

Anno Etatis 27.

.HB.

is in reality Anne daughter of Ladislaus, who succeeded her brother Louis II.^a as Queen of Hungary and Bohemia. She married Ferdinand the brother of the Emperor Charles V. She was born July 23rd, 1503, and consequently twenty-seven in the year 1530, as above inscribed. She died 1547. The monogram HB may stand for the work of Hans Baldung, Binck, or Brosamer. The original of this engraving is said to have been at Basle in the year 1824. A small picture, almost a counterpart of the above, and now the property of Sir John Boileau, appears to be a genuine old repetition of some larger picture; it is of the same size as Cooper's engraving.

3. The circular miniature now belonging to Mr. Charles Sackville Bale, inscribed in gold across the blue background, AN°. xxv. I take to represent Queen Anne Boleyne. The date just quoted is evidently, as shown by my notes on paintings at Longleat and Windsor (see *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX. p. 254), and the portrait of Southwell at Florence, to be read as marking the King's reign instead of the age of the person represented. The 25th year of Henry VIII. was from April 22, 1533, to April 21, 1534; and on June 1st, within this year, Anne Boleyne was publicly crowned. The colour of eyes and the features of this face do not accord with the known portraits of Jane Seymour, whilst

^a Compare a description of the portrait of Mary of Austria, given in my *Catalogue of the Pictures belonging to the Society of Antiquaries*, contributed to the "Fine Arts Quarterly Review," vol. 2, p. 326, No. xxvi.

the dark eyes, marked lips, and black sharply-pencilled eyebrows decidedly correspond with the life-sized bust portrait of Anne Boleyn, having a golden letter B attached to the chain round her neck, still preserved at Windsor Castle. She wears the French hood bordered with an elegant curved framework, and showing her natural hair parted in the middle. This miniature was copied by Hoskins for Charles I., and can still be identified by the catalogue which Vanderdoort drew up for that monarch. (See Bathoe's publication, page 41, No. 28.) The copy by Hoskins is now among the Tudor miniatures belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch.^a

4. A circular miniature, very similar to the foregoing, was purchased at the Strawberry Hill sale by Mr. Blamire. There is no date on the background, nor any trace of an ornament hanging from the fine gold chain round her neck. A large roundel or device appears on the front of her dress, and a small bunch of flowers is fastened to the side of her head-dress, as in Mr. Bale's miniature, where they consist of two very beautifully painted pansies. In this one, however, they are composed merely of crude green and yellow flowers. This miniature, or one very closely resembling it, was exhibited by the Duke of Buccleuch at the Exhibition of Miniatures in 1865; No. 1590 of the Catalogue.

5. Elstrack's engraving, inscribed ANNA BOLÆNIA, &c., belongs to the same type as Mr. Bale's miniature. The cast of countenance is quite similar, and she wears the English or angular framed hood, but without any veil.^b It is, however, remarkable that the general form of the dress, the tau-shaped ornament attached to her necklace, the large square plated jewel with three pearls pendant from it fastened at her bosom, and the large collar or chain composed of several rows of pearls, hanging in front from shoulder to shoulder, correspond exactly with the figure known to represent Jane Seymour, and presently to be described under No. 7. The attitude of the left hand holding a jewel was probably devised by Elstrack himself, who lived early in the seventeenth century. A similar action is seen in the well-known Morton portrait of Mary Queen of Scots.

6. The portrait of QUEEN JANE SEYMOUR is very satisfactorily ascertained by the writing and date upon Hilliard's circular miniature, still preserved in the royal collection at Windsor. It is inscribed "Anno Dom. 1536. Aetatis suae 27."

^a Mr. Bale's Miniature was No. 1935 of the Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition at South Kensington in 1862, and No. 1645 of the Exhibition of Miniatures in 1864.

^b This peculiar shaped head-dress appears to be exclusively English. So far, at least, as my experience goes, I have never once met with it on the portrait of a foreign personage. It forms a regular pentagonal frame round the face.

In Bathoe's Edition of Vanderdoort's Catalogue, page 48, No. 53, the name of "*Mary*" appears; but in the original MS. at Oxford a blank was left for the name, and none inserted. It is very weakly and timidly painted, and, moreover, very much faded. Notwithstanding these disadvantages the genuine type can be traced, and it agrees also with the following.

7. Queen Jane Seymour, taken from a painting, a whole-length figure of the size of life, executed on the wall of the council chamber at Whitehall, marked with the royal initials H and I, joined by a true-lover's knot on one side, and with the date 1537 in a tablet on the other. The picture itself was destroyed by a fire, but a record of it is fortunately preserved in Remée van Leemput's small copy in oil, still preserved at Hampton Court Palace. The tau-shaped ornament on the neck of the Queen deserves notice. The eyeballs are warm grey and the nose decidedly aquiline.

8. The portrait at Woburn, engraved in Lodge's series, quite accords with the two preceding ones. Hollar has made an admirable engraving from it, a small circle dated 1648. It is No. 1427 of Parthey's list. Holbein's original drawing for this portrait is still preserved in the collection at Windsor.

A third remaining type of ladies' portraits, wearing the English angular-framed head-dress, has still to be considered.

9. The principal example among these I take to be that of Queen Katharine Parr seated by the side of Henry VIII. in the large family picture at Hampton Court, which has been noticed by Mr. Nichols.

The head called the Princess Mary among the drawings at Windsor appears to be a study for this picture. Chamberlaine's copy (Plate XLIII.) gives a very false idea of it. Hollar's engraving inscribed "*Princeps Maria filia,*" &c. appears also to have been taken from this type. He has as usual reversed his subject.

In this class of portraits, which we may assume to represent Katharine Parr, it will be observed that the peak of the black veil attached to her head-dress is directed forward in the same way as the face, whilst in all Jane Seymour's portraits (the Whitehall copy by Remée van Leemput alone excepted) the peak is pointed directly backwards. The head of Jane Seymour, as seen in Remée's copy from Whitehall, is not absolutely to be relied on, in consequence of an alteration that we know was made in the head of the companion portrait of the King. The original cartoon by Holbein for the figure of Henry VIII. is at Hardwick Hall. It is well preserved, and is magnificently drawn. But the head of the monarch in the cartoon, instead of showing the full face as seen in later pictures, is more youthful, and seen in three-quarters view. It

exhibits the type observable in the fine portraits at Althorp and in the National Portrait Gallery. Thus, since we find an older face substituted in Van Leemput's copy of the Whitehall picture for the King's youthful countenance, we can hardly place implicit confidence in the head of the Queen being as Holbein first drew it in the cartoon. It is quite possible that the countenance of a later Queen was substituted. Unfortunately, however, this portion of his drawing is no longer known to be in existence.

10. Another portrait, although not exactly of a royal personage, may be deemed of sufficient interest to justify insertion among these notes. It is that of MARY BOLEYNE, the sister of the Queen, and will be found at Hampton Court, No. 338 of the Catalogue, under the title of "A Portrait of a Lady of the Court of Henry VIII." It represents a young lady wearing the angular framed head-dress surmounted with a peak belonging to the black veil, and having also a large mass of the same veil pointed forwards, as in the Katharine Parr series. This name of Mary Boleyne is derived from the inscription on an old copy preserved at Warwick Castle, where it serves as companion picture to the well-known Anne Boleyne portrait engraved in Lodge. Both these pictures, it may be observed, are on canvas, and not very ancient.

11. Mr. Dent has a circular miniature belonging to the later class of Henry's Queens. It was purchased at Strawberry Hill in 1842, (No. 67, page 146 of the Sale Catalogue,) and has pale bluish eyes. The tau-shaped ornament is on her stomacher.

12. Another circular miniature, also belonging to Mr. Dent, has been hitherto known by the name of Katharine Parr; but I trust to invest it with a more correct designation. It came from the Strawberry Hill Collection, (page 146, No. 69 of the Sale Catalogue,) and has been very badly engraved in Harding's *Biographical Mirrour*, vol. iii. page 10.

A most important feature, namely, the inscription on the background, "AN^o. XXXII.," the engraver has omitted altogether. This regnal year of Henry VIIIth shows that the date of the miniature is in fact 1540-1541.

Early in 1540 the King had already seen and discarded his wife Anne of Cleves; but during his 32^d regnal year, in the month of August, he espoused his fifth wife KATHARINE HOWARD, and her portrait I believe this to be.

Like the Richardson miniature of Katharine Howard, and the duplicate in the Royal Library at Windsor, the lady here wears the small French head-dress. The tau-shaped jewel is attached to her necklace.

This miniature has been very inaccurately engraved for Miss Strickland's

Lives of the Queens, vol. iii. page 175, where the tau-shaped ornament has been converted into a cross and many details altered. The relative tints of the stomacher and fur trimming of the sleeve are completely reversed. The jewel on the front of her dress is singularly unfaithful, whether to the original painting or to Harding's defective engraving. This point of deviation is the more noticeable as it was in this ornament that the imagination of the authoress of the *Lives of the Queens* saw so many marvels (see page 210, vol. iii. ed. 1853). Here Miss Strickland, upon examining the brooch "not much bigger than a large spangle," discovered within it a wonderful creation of art so microscopically small as, up to that time, to have eluded observation.

For my own part, I may venture to state that I have examined this tiny disc in all lights and at all distances, both with and without a microscope, and can safely assert that, beyond a few delicate touches of colour perfectly meaningless, there is absolutely *nothing*.

13. The portrait at Lambeth Palace of a lady, life-size, on panel, wearing the angular hood and a black veil, with three necklaces, and both hands seen in front, does not appear to me to answer in any respect to the authentic portraits of Katharine of Arragon. The nose is aquiline, and the expression of the eyes very different. The figure is rather stout and high-shouldered. It may possibly be intended for the daughter of Sir Thomas More, MARGARET ROPER, whose portrait copied in watercolours by Hollar^a is still preserved in the Royal Library at Windsor.

14. Another queenlike portrait, the half-length figure of a lady, holding a green book with both hands, and having a row of red beads hanging from her left hand, is a delicately painted miniature the property of Mr. Magniac. It has been called Katharine of Arragon, but is clearly LADY GUILDFORD, as engraved by Hollar. (Parthey, No. 1410.) She wears the angular framed head-dress with a veil, and appears altogether to have been a very portly personage.

15. The engraving published in the *Heroologia*, page 33, and entitled "Jana Graya," is extremely like the portrait called the "Princess Elizabeth" engraved in Shaw's *Dresses and Decorations*, the original of which has been recently removed from Hampton Court to St. James's Palace.

I quite believe this picture to represent the PRINCESS ELIZABETH; the colour of the hair, the set of features, with nose tending to aquiline, and the very slender fingers, all accord with the physique that characterized Elizabeth in after years. Moreover, traces of writing with the name Elizabeth may be observed in the upper left-hand corner; but I could not, as the picture now

^a Written on the back "Anna Roper Thomæ Mori filia. W. Hollar pinxit post Holbein 1652."

hangs at the Palace, facing the windows, detect any date upon it. Mr. Shaw in the text illustrating his plate (No. 85) says, "It was drawn, *according to the statement of the age of the princess*, in the year 1545." From this I infer that her age, *Ætatis suæ*, is somewhere inscribed upon the surface of the picture. Elizabeth was born in 1533. This date alone would suffice to show that the painting could not be the work of Holbein, who died in 1543. Nor is Vanderdoort's Catalogue drawn up for Charles 1st contradictory on this point. In the MS. itself Holbein's name does not appear: it is simply recorded as "a Whitehall piece;" and no dimensions given with the picture. Vertue and Bathoe not only thrust in the name of "Holbein" as painter, but also insert as dimensions "5 ft. by 4 ft.," whereas the actual measure of the picture, on the panel, and taken within the frame, is 3 ft. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 2 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches! The picture is further traceable back to the collection of Henry VIIIth, where it appears in his Catalogue as "The Ladye Elizabeth her grace, with a booke in her hande, her gowne like crymeson clothe of golde with workes." The picture is finely painted and most admirably preserved; but the general tone is such as I have not yet met with in Holbein's works. There is a clear cold tone about the flesh, with much solidity of colour, unlike the later works of the master. There is also an entire absence of gilding on all the jewellery and golden embroidery ("workes") with which she is adorned.

It is painful to observe how vague and uncertain are many of the Portraits that have been accepted as authentic representations of the Wives of Henry VIII.

Out of five Portraits of his Queens engraved by Houbraken two, namely Katharine of Arragon and Jane Seymour, are certainly false. The portrait of Anne Boleyn, as engraved by Houbraken, has been many times repeated in oil colours, and is to be met with in some of the best collections; but all examples that I have been able to examine appear to be comparatively modern versions, and, in every instance that I have seen, are painted with a dashing free hand upon canvas. At Hampton Court, where I recognised Mary Boleyn, a genuine old picture on panel, I sought in vain for the companion portrait of her sister. The picture engraved by Houbraken about 1738, and formerly the property of "the late Earl of Bradford," does not appear to be any longer in the possession of his Lordship's descendants. In fact, the earliest instance that I have met with of this type, bearing a reliable date, is Hollar's engraving inscribed and dated 1649 "ex Collectione Arundeliana." The engraving is circular and appears to have been copied from a miniature. It is No. 1342 of Parthey's List.

Of Anne of Cleves there seems to be but one established type, namely the

portrait with the face viewed in full, having the hands joined in front. It is engraved by Hollar, and there is a similar picture in the Louvre, painted upon vellum fastened upon board, of small life size, and attributed to Holbein. It is No. 211 of M. Villot's catalogue, 1858, and formed part of the collection of Louis XIV. Dr. Waagen, in his "*Kunstwerke and Künstler in Paris*," (8vo. 1839), page 552, speaks of this picture with great praise, and was the first to give a name to the person represented.

16. A square oil-painting of Katharine Howard, measuring about $5\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, belonging to the Duke of Buccleuch, is a picture of considerable interest. It was exhibited in the Loan Collection at South Kensington in 1862 (No. 2030 of the catalogue). It is apparently a French work, and, indeed, thoroughly so in personal characteristics. The Queen wears the small French hood with a little black veil hanging down behind. Her hair is of a bright chesnut colour, and the eyes are blue. On the flat turquoise-blue background, at the upper left-hand corner, is inscribed in thin gold letters, "Catherine Howard · Henry VIII." Her stomacher is black, and the sleeves are "turned up" with white fur. The picture is very delicately painted.

17. The portrait of Anne Boleyn with a letter B appended to her necklace to which I have already alluded (see *ante* No. 3) appears to me to be a picture of considerable importance. It has, so far as I know, never been engraved. The introduction of letters as an ornament of jewellery is a quaint device which seems to have prevailed at this period. Among Holbein's drawings in the library at Windsor we find "The Lady Audley," with a jewelled A hanging to her necklace; and the same is repeated in Holbein's exquisite miniature done from this drawing, preserved also in the same collection. The Holbein drawing of Mary Duchess of Richmond has, in similar manner, the dress "powdered" with the letter R, and marked with a couple of letters M on the right arm. The Princess Elizabeth in the long picture of Henry the Eighth's family at Hampton Court has also a letter A, her mother's initial, hanging from her necklace. The portrait of Lady Abergavenny, formerly in the Strawberry Hill Collection, and subsequently belonging to Mr. Bernal (No. 928 of the Sale Catalogue), also exhibits the letter A as a central ornament to her necklace, and the same letter is repeated in numerous compartments on the sides of her head-dress.

The names, however, that have been inscribed on these Holbein drawings are, to a great extent, very little to be relied on. The portraits entitled Anne Boleyn, Anne of Cleves (the latter purchased at Dr. Mead's sale in 1755, and not one of

Queen Caroline's series), and Katharine Howard, I place no faith in. How far other noble names are open to doubt, I shall have occasion to show when treating of the various representations of the family of Sir Thomas More, a picture originally designed by Holbein. His separate studies for various heads to be introduced into this grand family group are now preserved among the Holbein drawings at Windsor; but several of the ladies have been invested with inscriptions bearing high-sounding titles, such as "The Lady Barkeley," whilst one sober lady, standing at the side, reading a book, has been converted into "Mother Jack, nurse to King Edward VI."

It is to be regretted that Lodge, in his valuable series of portraits, has admitted an unauthenticated representation of Queen Katharine Parr, selected from Dawson Turner's collection; a circumstance which has already produced confusion, inasmuch as a lady's portrait at Petworth House, till recently "unknown," has now been invested with the name of Henry's last queen.

It is somewhat remarkable that in only two instances now extant do we find King Henry represented in the same picture together with his Queen. The first is the Whitehall picture, dated 1537; and the second, the family piece, now at Hampton Court, where Katharine Parr sits at his side, and the children are standing round him.^a Not one of his queens was honoured with a monumental effigy. I am not aware of any medallie representation of any one of these consorts,^b a fact the more striking as several very effective ones exist of the King and of his daughter Mary, showing that excellent medallists had found employment in this country.

^a In the catalogue of Henry the Eighth's pictures, mention is made of a diptych exhibiting the King and Jane Seymour. It is thus entered "Henry theight Kynge and Jane Queene, a table like a booke." What has become of this curious picture is not known.

^b Since the above was sent to press our Director, A. W. Franks, Esq., has brought to my notice a leaden medallion preserved in the British Museum. It is possibly a cast from a carving in hone-stone, or wood, and measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter; the sculpture is in rather high relief. The type of the figure corresponds with that of the seated Queen in the Family group, No. 9, of these notes. The face is turned slightly sideways, and rather looking up towards the left. The letters A. R. in the field, and the legend "THE MOOST HAPPY ANNO 1534," round the margin, show that this figure must have been intended for Anne Boleyn. This representation adds rather to the perplexity of the subject, but goes far to support the opinion which I advanced of No. 3, Mr. Bale's miniature, being in reality Anne Boleyn. The letters A. R. likewise appear in gold on a black medallion hanging round the neck of an enthroned Queen, attended by a herald, councillor and ladies, on a highly finished initial letter, page 20, of the Black Book belonging to the Order of the Garter at Windsor. The date on the illuminated border of the first page of the volume is 1534, and corresponds exactly with the period of Anne Boleyn. There is not much character in her countenance, but, nevertheless, it deserves mention in a collection of notes such as the present.

VII.—*Original Documents illustrative of the Administration of the Criminal Law in the time of Edward I.; with Observations by FRANCIS MORGAN NICHOLS, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.*

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Read March 3rd, 1864.

I PROPOSE to lay before the Society this evening some documents which appear to possess a certain interest as illustrating the administration of the Criminal Law in the reign of Edward I. One of these papers relates to the tribunal held under the presidency of the Justices of Trailbaston, the institution of which is one of the obscure events in our legal annals. I have written a few observations with a view to explain the nature of these papers, and their bearing upon the legal and social history of the country.

There are various indications that towards the middle of the reign of Edward I. the existing means for the prevention and punishment of robberies and crimes accompanied with violence were felt to be unequal to the necessities of the time. Whether crime was upon the increase, as was then frequently asserted, or whether only the necessity of repressing it was more urgently felt, the government of Edward found it necessary to exert itself to improve the system of police, and to deter offenders by more speedy and certain punishments.

The great revolution in our legal system, by which the judicial business of the country was transferred from the local and territorial tribunals to the Royal Courts, was approaching its successful termination, and it would seem that the work of demolition had in some degree outstripped the work of construction, and left a gap in the administration of justice which was not filled up for some time. An important remedy, I may observe, was subsequently found in the institution of Justices of the Peace, which took its rise in the commencement of the reign of Edward III. The institutions existing under our early Norman Kings, adapted as they were to a less advanced state of society, appear yet to present a more complete and efficacious system of police, and more adequate means for the repression of crime, than we find in operation at the close of the thirteenth

century. The institution of Frankpledge, by which the peasants were made mutually answerable for each others' conduct, having been adopted from the native law, was brought into vigorous use under the Conqueror and his immediate successors;^a and no better means could possibly have been devised, in a rude and stationary condition of society, for the prevention and punishment of crime. There is reason to think that this institution, though it remained in theory a part of the law, was in practice growing obsolete^b in the reign of Edward I.^b Another ancient institution was the Sheriff's Tourn, which in former times had been active in the repression of theft and of acts of violence not amounting to homicide. And batteries, affrays, and woundings had been ordinary subjects of cognizance in the courts leet of Lords of Manors, even where no special franchise of Infangthef or Utfangthef gave them jurisdiction in cases of felony, with the privilege of having their own gallows. These courts had, however, before the time of Edward I., lost much of their usefulness. The authority of the Sheriff in criminal cases was curtailed by Magna Carta, and the territorial jurisdiction of Lords had been discouraged by every means which the Government could command.

The mode in which it had been customary to procure the conviction of offenders was also unfavourable to the suppression of crime. According to the practice of the thirteenth century, acts of violence to individuals, as woundings and batteries, appear to have been generally left to be punished at the prosecution of the sufferers by what was called an appeal.^c The Coroner, who was considered the principal guardian of the King's peace,^d and whose business it was to inquire into circumstances furnishing matter for prosecution at the suit of the Crown, does not appear to have made any inquest *ex officio* in cases of wounding or battery, unless the wound was so serious that it was likely to cause death.^e Robberies and thefts seem also to have been more frequently the subject of appeals than of prosecution at the King's suit.^f Now the system of prosecution by appeal was attended with so much inconvenience and disadvantage to the appellor, that, in a large proportion of cases, the sufferer preferred to submit to injury rather than to seek redress in the manner provided by the ancient law. In the first place the appellor, if a man in full possession of physical powers, was bound to offer to prove his case upon the body of the appellee by trial of battle.^g

^a Palgrave, English Commonwealth, vol. ii. p. 123. ^b See Britton (Oxford, 8vo. 1865), vol. i. p. 181, note.

^c Bracton, f. 122b, 143, 144.

^d Britton, vol. i. p. 8.

^e Bracton, f. 121, 122; Britton, vol. i. p. 8.

^f Bracton, f. 146, 150b.

^g Britton, vol. i. p. 100.

We may easily conceive that injuries to person and property were for the most part unpunished, when the party injured could in general obtain redress only by means of a judicial combat with the ruffian from whose violence or dishonesty he had suffered. If we add to this the fact that the appellor, if he failed to prove his case, was liable to be amerced or imprisoned for his false suit,^a we cannot be surprised that a system of law which trusted habitually to such a mode of prosecution, was found ineffectual for the repression of robbery and violence.

It is true that such acts might be made the subject of presentment by the neighbours at the Sheriff's Tourn or at the Court Leet, and upon such presentment, if the acts amounted to felony, the parties accused might be arrested by the Sheriff and detained in prison until the next Eyre of the Justices Itinerant or the arrival of the Justices assigned to deliver the gaol; or the same persons, with or without such previous presentment, might be indicted by the grand jury in the Eyre. But this remedy by presentment and indictment was at this period very partial and uncertain, especially when the complainant was a stranger and the person under suspicion one who was either feared or favoured as a neighbour. The Statute of Winchester, passed in the thirteenth year of Edward I., which was the principal measure of that King for the improvement of the police of his realm, commences by reciting, that "from day to day, robberies, homicides, and arsons are more often committed than heretofore, and felons cannot be convicted by the oath of jurors, which more readily suffer felonies committed against strangers to pass without punishment than indict offenders, the great part of whom are of their own country; or at the least, if the offenders are of another country, their abettors and receivers are persons of the neighbourhood." The principal remedies provided by this statute for the state of things described in the above preamble were, first, a new law whereby the hundred in which a robbery or other felony was committed was made answerable for the damage, unless the offenders were discovered and convicted; and, secondly, several regulations of police, providing, among other things, for the stricter watch of cities and towns, the improvement of highways, especially by the removal of trees, bushes, and other covert from their immediate proximity, and the more effectual following of the hue and cry, when offenders were pursued by the force of the country.

With respect to the compensation which was to be made to the sufferers by the hundred, the statute did not point out any special mode of recovering it, but

^a Britton, vol. i. p. 103, 107, 124.

enacted that the country should have no longer space than forty days, within which it should behove them to make satisfaction for the robbery or offence, or answer for the bodies of the offenders.^a It was the practice, under this statute, for the persons aggrieved to bring actions, *tam pro Rege quam pro seipsis*, against the inhabitants of the hundred for their damages,^b and Lord Coke cites precedents of actions so brought as early as the second year of Edward III.^c In a manuscript collection of statutes and law treatises made in the reign of Edward II. and preserved in the Cambridge University Library,^d in the margin of the page containing the Statute of Winchester, there are copies of two writs of King Edward I. to the Sheriff of Gloucester, issued shortly after the date of that statute, which seem to show that, according to the view taken by the King's lawyers at that time, a more speedy remedy might be given by an inquest before the sheriff, without the necessity of proceeding by action.

The first of these two writs, after reciting the statute lately promulgated at Winchester, orders the sheriff, that having heard the complaint of Philip Russel and William Baron, merchants of Northampton, concerning a robbery done upon them between the townships of Pynnocksyre and Farnescote, in the county of Gloucester, he should make due and speedy fulfilment of justice to the said Philip and William according to the form of the said statute. The second writ, after referring to the former, recites that the sheriff had signified by his letters, that it appeared upon an inquest made before him that the same Philip and William on the Sunday before the feast of St. Kenelm, in the 19th year of the King,^e were robbed of their goods and chattels by three thieves at Pynnoksyre, in a place called Brodeswelle, within the liberty of the Abbot of Hayles, in the hundred of Lolleford and Greston,^f but that the sheriff had no knowledge of the value of the

^a Stat. Winton. (13 Edw. I. Stat. 12) c. 2.

^b The Statute of Winchester was repealed by Stat. 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 27.

^c Coke, Institutes, part ii. p. 569.

^d MS. Dd. vii. 6. This is a very fine collection of statutes and law treatises, which appears, from internal evidence, to have been prepared for the use of Sir John de Longueville, a lawyer employed in the business of the Crown in the reign of Edward II. See Britton, Introduction, p. 61. It is remarkable that this manuscript is described in the Record Commission Report of 1837 as of the time of Henry VI., and in the Report of 1819, made with a view to the publication of the Statutes of the Realm, as a manuscript of little value.

^e 16 July, 1291.

^f The name "Bradwell's Head Barn" may be found in the Ordnance Map between the hamlet of Farncot and Pinnock Farm, about two miles from the site of the abbey of Hayles. These places are now

goods or of the names of the offenders, and that restitution was not made to the said Philip and William according to the form of the statute, to their no little cost and grievance. The sheriff is then ordered to levy within half a year of the robbery, out of the goods and chattels of the inhabitants of the hundred, money to the value of the goods taken, according as the same Philip and William could prove the same before the sheriff by the law of merchants or other lawful means, and cause the same money to be delivered to them; or else that the sheriff should answer for the said robbers within the same term.^a

Whatever may have been the effect of the Statute of Winchester, the general complaint of the prevalence of crimes accompanied with violence still continued, and towards the end of Edward's reign grew into a panic, which our recent experience of garotte robberies may in some degree enable us to understand. Various parts of the country were infested by a class of people who appear to have been armed with sticks or clubs, and who were ready for the commission of any violence either on their own account or as the instruments of others. Peaceable subjects were beaten, and their houses broken into and robbed, almost with impunity, for so great was the dread generally felt of the perpetrators of these outrages, that they very frequently succeeded in evading punishment, the injured parties being deterred from complaining, or the jurors from indicting or convicting them, by threats of further atrocities. At every fair and market they were the terror of their more peaceable neighbours, making a practice of seeking quarrels and insisting upon reparation from those whom they had forced to defend them-

in Kingsgate hundred, but in Domesday Book Fernecote and Pignoscire are described as in the hundred of Holeford, and Heile as in Gretestan hundred.

^a I append copies of these writs, for which I am indebted to Henry Bradshaw, Esq., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and of this Society. The admission of proof *per legem mercatoriam*, as binding upon the hundred, is remarkable, and the kind of evidence intended requires further explanation. Another observable point in these writs is, that the period within which the compensation was to be made is half a year; and in the first writ, where the effect of the statute is set forth, it is recited as if that period was mentioned in it. I refer to this as illustrating a question which exists as to the proper reading of the Statute of Winchester, the time named in the copy found upon the Statute Roll being forty days (xl. iour³), while in a small Roll preserved in the Exchequer, and in many early manuscript copies, it is half a year. See Statutes of the Realm (Record Commission), vol. i. p. 96, note; Saunders's Reports, vol. ii. p. 375. Fleta (which was written about the 20th of Edward I.) refers to the statute as naming the longer period; and Lord Coke, relying upon that authority, says that the book of statutes then lately printed is mistaken in mentioning forty days, and should be reformed accordingly. (Coke, Institutes, Part II. 569.) The language of these writs, issued so early after the date of the statute, is confirmatory of the reading approved by Coke.

selves. At night the country was especially unsafe, and burglaries, arsons, and homicides were frequent. The evil demanded the more vigorous treatment, inasmuch as these "trailbastons," as they were called, were often maintained and abetted by persons of higher position, who availed themselves of their services to satisfy their private animosities, the ruffians having actually in some places a scale of prices at which they might be hired to commit a more or less murderous assault upon their victims. In the forcible usurpation of the possession of land, one of the common oppressions of that time, the services of the trailbastons were also employed.

The ordinary means of administering justice were found inadequate for securing the peace of the country, and in the thirty-third year of Edward I. (A.D. 1304-5), several commissions were issued for inquiring into and punishing those breaches of the peace, which had given occasion to so much alarm. The justices appointed by these commissions acquired, after a time, the popular name of Justices of Trailbaston; and Commissions of Trailbaston, as they were called, were issued at various intervals until the middle of the reign of Richard II. The form of the commission is printed in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and also in the volume of Parliamentary and other Writs of the reign of Edward I., published by the Record Commission;^a and an ordinance, entitled "*Ordinatio de Trailbastons*," passed in the Parliament held at Westminster in the thirty-third year of Edward I., is printed in the *Rolls of Parliament*.^b The best account of the origin of this tribunal is to be found in the third volume of Mr. Foss's work upon the Judges of England.^c It appears that originally the duty of Justice of Trailbaston was intended to be principally performed by the barons or knights resident in the several districts, one or two only of the King's regular justices being included in a numerous commission. We may find in this a partial anticipation of the institution of Edward III., whereby the custody of the King's peace was committed to some substantial persons resident in every county. After two or three years, however, the choice of Justices of Trailbaston appears to have fallen upon the same persons who were ordinarily employed in the business of assizes and as justices itinerant.

The name of Justices of Trailbaston, applied to the judges acting under this commission, has by some writers been derived from their "carrying the staff of justice;" and by Lord Coke is referred to the rapidity of their action, "because

^a *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 960; Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 407.

^b *Rot. Parl.* vol. i. p. 178.

^c Foss, *Judges of England*, vol. iii. p. 28—38.

they proceeded as speedily as one might draw a staff." But Mr. Foss has shown that the word "Trailbaston" was first applied to the offence or the offenders, and afterwards to the justices. He also cites some interesting extracts from the songs of the period, published by Mr. Wright, which exhibit the various opinions which were popularly entertained as to the proceedings of the government and of the judges upon this occasion.

The second document appended to this paper contains the detailed instructions respecting the nature of the offences for the suppression of which these justices were appointed. It is extracted from the same manuscript which has been before referred to,^a and is entitled "Articles of Lincoln, which are called Trailbaston, concerning which King Edward, father of King Edward that now is, commanded to be inquired throughout all England." The title, "Articles of Lincoln", would seem to imply that the instrument was prepared at that place. The first Commissions of Trailbaston are dated the 23d of November, 1304 (33 Edw. I.), at Burstwick, in the county of York,^b where the King appears to have been for some days, as there are other writs dated at the same place on the preceding 12th of November. But during the next month he was at Lincoln, whence he dates a letter to the Pope on the 31st December 1304;^c and a Commission of Trailbaston for the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk bears date at Lincoln the 9th of January, 1305. It was probably at this time that these instructions for the conduct of the tribunal, which are in French, and are far more detailed than the Latin Commissions, were settled by Edward or his Council.^d

The articles are divided into thirteen heads, which present a curious and interesting picture of the abuses under which society was labouring. The first offence is one not at all alluded to in the commission. It is that of those who

^a MS. in Cambridge University Library, Dd. vii. 6. Another copy of the same "Articles" is to be found in Hargrave MS. 336 (in the British Museum), where the document is entitled "Les Articles de Traynebaston." I have looked through this copy, and have added at the foot of the copy hereafter printed the principal varieties of reading found in it. While preparing this paper for the press, I have found that the Articles of Trailbaston have been printed from a less perfect copy in the edition of the Chronicle of Walter de Hemingburgh (or Hemingford), published by the English Historical Society, vol. ii. p. 237. In Hearne's edition of Walter de Hemingford, two blank pages occur in the place of these Articles, vol. ii. p. 211.

^b Parliamentary Writs, vol. i. p. 407.

^c *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 955.

^d The "Articuli inquisitionis super Statutum Wyntonie," printed in the old collections of Statutes as a Statute of the 34th year of Edward I., and by the Record Commission as a Statute *temporis incerti*, is an instrument of the same nature as the "Articuli Lincolnie."

forcibly enter upon the tenements of others, and when they are about to be ousted by legal proceedings, deliver the tenements into the hands of great lords, in order to continue by force and power their original wrong.

The second offence is one mentioned in the Commission of Trailbaston, but is here more vividly described : " Of those who have disturbed the jurors on assizes, that they dare not speak the truth, for if they do so they cause them to be so beaten and illtreated that many lose their lives, or are maimed for ever after, so that for fear of them the truth cannot be known before the King's justices."

The third article is more especially aimed at the particular offence the prevalence of which appears to have occasioned the creation of the tribunal, and to have given it its name, and the terms in which this abuse is described are certainly very remarkable. Inquiry is to be made of those who are guilty of the great batteries which are committed in the country, and are ready to be hired to beat others according as may be bargained, for a greater or less battery, that is to say, a battery of two or three shillings, or of a half mark, or of ten or twenty shillings, and who they are that abet or maintain such proceedings.

The next offence is the obtaining of purchases or leases of land by threats of personal violence.

The fifth article describes those who have plundered the householders of the country, and if the sufferers make complaint among their neighbours, cause them to be informed that if they do not hold their peace they will lose their lives as well as their goods.

The sixth article is directed against forcible disseisins by persons hired for the purpose ; so much oppression of this kind was practised, that it is plaintively added that it would be a work of great charity and alms to restrain the malice of the offenders, and to convict their abettors.

The next offence is the impeding of constables and bailiffs and King's officers in their duty of keeping the peace. This is followed by an article against the corrupt conduct of such officers themselves.

The ninth article shows that the " Crowner's quest " was already in disrepute, and illustrates in a remarkable way the chapter of the Statute of Westminster the First, which recites that people of small account were then commonly chosen for the office of Coroner.^a It is headed " De inobedientibus Coronatoribus," that is, of those who refuse to obey the Coroners ; and the abuse described is this : that poor and ignorant people were put upon Coroners' inquests, and the better

^a Statute of Westminster I. (3 Edw. I.) c. 10.

class, although they might be actually present and ordered by the Coroner to "go to the book," refused to be sworn on the inquest, or to obey his order, in despite of the Coroner and the dignity of our lord the King and his peace, whereby felons and other misdoers of the country remained unpunished.

In the tenth article the offence described is the violent resistance to the King's officers in levying the King's dues, by beating and maltreating the bailiffs.

The next article is directed against homicides, murders, and arsons committed by day or night. In the twelfth and thirteenth the characteristic proceedings of the Trailbastons again appear. The former is directed against those who go by night with force and arms against the peace, and beat people and break the doors and windows of honest folk, and commit other enormities against the peace, when quiet people ought to be in their beds.

The last article is headed "*De quærentibus occasiones contentionum ut faciant de injuria justitiam*," that is, of those who seek occasion of quarrel in order to demand redress for their own wrong, and it describes a class of persons who were in the habit of frequenting markets and populous places and so conducting themselves as to provoke quarrels, and who then pretended that they were the injured parties, and would not be satisfied until their victims had purchased their peace by money, chattels, or wine; so that the amends were paid by the party injured and received by the offenders.

The document which I have thus shortly described presents a singularly graphic enumeration of the offences with which the Justices of Trailbaston had to deal.

The remaining document which I wish to bring under the notice of the Society relates to another measure taken by King Edward I., at nearly the same period, for securing the peace of the country. It is found upon the Close Roll of the 34th year of Edward I.,^a and is a circular addressed to the Sheriffs respecting the observance of the Statute of Winchester. A copy of the writ, as received by the Sheriff of Northampton, is contained in the same manuscript to which I have already referred,^b where it is entitled, at the commencement, "A Statute made at Westminster in the 34th year, founded upon the Statute of Winchester," and at the conclusion, "The Statute of the imprisonment of suspected persons." It is in form a writ addressed to the Sheriff, giving him directions for the preservation of the peace of his district, and is dated at West-

^a Rot. Claus. 34 Edw. I. m. 9.

^b Cambridge University Library, MS. Dd. vii. 6.

minster the 7th of June, 34 Edward I. (A.D. 1306).^a It is well known that the word statute was not strictly confined by the usage of the period under discussion to Acts of Parliament, but was frequently applied to royal ordinances and writs of general interest and of a more or less legislative character. Several examples of this kind may be found in the various collections of early Statutes. The *Statutum de militibus*, which was a royal ordinance of the sixth year of Edward I.^b and the Statute entitled *Circumspecte Agatis*, a writ or circular which is ascribed to the thirteenth year of the same King, are instances, among many others, of a like nature. The document which we have now before us belongs to the same class of instruments, and might well have found a place in the Statute Book along with those which I have mentioned. Its principal object is to enforce the observance of the Statute of Winchester during the intended absence of the King in Scotland, but it so far lays claim to a legislative character inasmuch as it purports to repeal or suspend the operation of a very important chapter of the Statute of Westminster the second, (13 Edward I.) passed for securing the liberty of the subject, by which Sheriffs were forbidden to arrest or imprison any persons who were not first indicted by an inquest of at least twelve jurors.

The following is an English translation of the instrument under consideration, with the titles prefixed and appended to it in the Cambridge Manuscript :

A Statute published at Westminster in the 34th year, founded upon the Statute of Winchester.

Edward, by God's grace King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to the Sheriff of Northampton, greeting. Whereas for the quiet and peace of the people of our realm, and for the repressing of the malice of evil-doers and disturbers of our peace, we formerly caused a certain Statute to be made at Winchester by the common advice of the said realm, which Statute, in regard to the better keeping of our peace, and especially when we are about to go into the parts of Scotland to suppress by God's help the rebellion of Robert Bruce, our enemy and rebel, we consider highly profitable, and will have it observed in all points ; and whereas it is notorious that evil-doers and felons, and numberless other persons of whom there is a manifest suspicion of larceny and felony, perpetrating robberies and other like enormities by night and day, as well openly as secretly, do roam, wander, and are received and maintained and make open abode, as well in your bailiwick as in divers other counties of our realm, which evil-doers, and their receivers, abettors, and maintainers might be taken and arrested by you, who are specially bound to keep our peace in your said bailiwick, if you were as diligent therein as you ought to be, inasmuch as

^a The date upon the Close Roll is June 16, 34 Edw. I.

^b See *Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX. p. 216.

the *posse* of the said county on these and the like occasions is subject to your summons and jurisdiction: therefore we hereby strictly enjoin and command that in your county, and in all cities, boroughs, hundreds, market towns, and other places in your bailiwick, as well within liberties as without, and wheresoever you shall deem expedient, you cause the said Statute to be publicly read and in all its points observed.

Further, inasmuch as that is not unknown to us which is bruited in the ears of all, to wit, that divers robbers and felons will not submit to be tried before our Justices assigned to hear and determine felonies and trespasses committed in divers counties of our realm against our peace, but when they are put in exigent do remove themselves to other counties, and do there lurk and abide, so that a manifest suspicion of felony and wickedness, by reason of their coming from foreign parts and their nightly journeyings, and sometimes by their luxurious expenses, may be and is had concerning them; and albeit it is contained in our Statute of Westminster that none be taken or imprisoned unless first he be indicted by the oath of twelve jurors, and their indictment be testified by their seals; nevertheless we will and command that all such whereof a manifest suspicion of felony or larceny is had, and whom you shall find in your bailiwick, as well within liberties as without, although they be not so indicted, be by you without delay arrested and safely kept in our prison until they be delivered therefrom according to law and the custom of our realm. These premises you shall so put in execution as you regard yourself, and would be free and clear of the receiving and consent to the said evil-doers, and that we may not be obliged to proceed against you as guilty of the said crimes; and shall apply such and so great diligence against such suspected malefactors and manifest felons, as well by yourself as by the *posse* of the said county, that it may not and ought not to be imputed to you, after our present command, that such intolerable offences are perpetrated in your bailiwick by your negligence or consent. We will also that in our behalf you command and strictly enjoin all bailiffs of your county, as well within liberties as without, that they apply the same diligence for the keeping of our peace in their wards, and so behave themselves in that behalf that they incur not the penalty in the said Statute contained, and be furthermore imprisoned during our pleasure, and be thereout heavily ransomed. And if they shall fail herein, you shall yourself, in default of the said bailiffs, enter the said liberties as often as shall be occasion, and cause the premises in form aforesaid to be strictly performed and observed; and you shall apprehend all those whom you shall find despising this our command, remiss or negligent in executing it, or wholly unwilling so to do, and shall instantly upon such apprehension cause their names to be laid before our Justices assigned to hear and determine felonies and trespasses committed in your county against our peace, that the same persons so apprehended may appear before the said Justices to answer the contempt aforesaid, and to perform that which the court shall consider in that behalf. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the 7th day of June, in the 34th year of our reign.

The end of the Statute for the imprisonment of suspected persons.

The clause of the Statute of Westminster, the operation of which is suspended

by the above Writ, has so important a bearing upon the general subject of this notice, that it may be worth while to read it in its entirety. The printed English translation runs as follows :

Forasmuch as sheriffs, feigning many times certain persons to be indicted before them in their Turns of felonies and other trespasses, do take men that are not culpable nor lawfully indicted, and imprison them, and do exact money from them, whereas they were not lawfully indicted by twelve jurors, it is ordained that sheriffs in their Turns, and in other places where they have power to inquire of trespassers by the King's precept or by office, shall cause their inquests of such malefactors to be taken by lawful men, and by twelve at the least, which shall put their seals to such inquisitions, and those that shall be found culpable by such inquests they shall take and imprison, as they have used aforetimes to do; and if they do imprison other than such as have been indicted by inquest, the parties imprisoned shall have their action by a writ of imprisonment against the sheriffs, as they should have against any other person that should imprison them without warrant. And as it hath been said of sheriffs, so shall it be observed of every bailiff of franchise.

It is observed in Lord Coke's Commentary upon this Statute, that such corrupt and partial proceedings upon presentments and indictments before the Sheriff *ex officio* were, notwithstanding all these provisions, in tourns and leets continued, until by the Statute of 1 Edward IV. the power of them, save only to take presentments and indictments, and to deliver the same to the justices of peace at the next session of the peace, &c. is taken away, and by that act authority is given to justices of peace to award process upon all such presentments and indictments delivered to them.

I am unable to say how far the non-observance of this Statute, observed by Lord Coke, is to be attributed to the directions for its contravention issued in the Ordinance, a translation of which has been given above.

I have said enough to explain the nature of the documents which I desire to bring to the notice of the Society, and which I trust will be thought not altogether devoid of historical interest, as exhibiting one aspect of the social condition of England at the end of the 13th century, and as showing the efforts made by a vigorous monarch to secure the internal tranquillity of the country at a time when his principal attention was occupied with foreign conquest.

I have now only to submit to the Society accurate copies of these documents, as they have been transcribed from the manuscript to which reference has been made.

I. Two writs for enforcing compensation by the Hundred for a robbery, pursuant to the Statute of Winchester, 13 Edw. I. stat. 2, c. 2, transcribed from the Cambridge University MS. Dd. vii. 6, f. 21 b.

1. Edwardꝑ ꝑc. vič Glouč ꝑ custodibus pacis sue in eodem Coñ seruande salutem.

Cum in statutis n^{ris} apud Wyntoñ nuper editis contineatur quod in singul^{is} Coñ hundred mercatis feriis et omnibus alijs locis vbi sollempnis congregō gentium erit sollempniter proclametur Ita quod nullus per ignoranciam se possit excusare quin quelibet patria sic decetero custodiatur quod post robberias et felonias fcas fiat recens secta de villa in villam de patria in patriam Inquisitiones etiam si necesse sit fiant in villę per illum qui superior est ville et postea in hundred libertatibus et Comitatibus et alñ in duobus tribus et quatuor Coñ qñ felonie erunt fce in confiniis Comitatum ita quod malefcores possint attingi seu apprehendi: Et si patria de talibus malefcoribus non rñdeat quod homines in patria commorantes respondeant de robberijs et de dampnis fcis/ Ita quod totum hundredum vbi robberia erit fca de eadem robberia respondeat vna cum libertatibus infra eadem hundreda existentibus: Et si robberia fiat in confinio duorum hundredorum ambo hundreda respondeant vna cum libertatibus infra eadem hundreda existentibus et hoc infra dimidium annum post robberiam et feloniam fcas/ Infra quem terminum oꝝ quod satisfaciant de robberia et malefacto vel quod respondeant de corporibus malefactorum: Vobis mandamus quod audita querela P. et W. mercatorum Norht super quadam robberia eis nuper inter villas N. et N. in Com' predicto fca vt dñ eisdem P. et W. debitum et festinum iusticie complementum iuxta formam eiusdem statuti sic faciatis/ Ne clamor ad nos inde veniat iteratus. Tę ꝑc.

2. Edwardꝑ etc. Vič Glouč et Custodibus pacis sue in eodem Coñ S'.

Cum nuper vobis mandauerimus quod vos audita querela Phī Russel et Willī Baron mercatorum Norht super quadam robberia eis inter villas de Pynnokęsyre et Farnescotes in Coñ predicto facta vt dñ eisdem P. et W. debitum et festinum iusticie complementum iuxta formam statuti nñ apud Wyntoñ editi fieri faceretis. ac vos fca super hoc in presentia vñ inquisitione nobis per lñas vñas significaueritis, quod iidem P. et W. die dominica proxima ante festum sñi Kenelmi anno r. n. xixº. apud Pynnokęsyre In quodam loco qui vocatur Brodeswelle infra libertatem Abbatis de Hayles In hundredo de Lolleford et Grestoñ de bonis et catall^{is} suis per tres latrones depredati fuerint/ S; de pretio eorundem bonorum et catallorum et de malefcoribus et eorum nominibus penitus ignorastis/ per quod de eisdem bonis et catall^{is} in forma predca depredatis predictis Phō et Wilfo secundum formam statuti nñ predicti aliqua restitutio non fuit fca in ipsorum P. et W. dispendium non modicum et grauamen vt ex querela sua accepimus: Nos eis prout iustum fuerit subuenire volentes in hac parte vobis mandamus quod de bonis et catallis hominum infra hundredum predictum commorantium pecunia (*sic*) ad valentiam dñorum bonorum et catallorum depredatorum prout ijdem P. et W. secundum legem mercatoriam vel alio modo legitimam coram vobis probare poterint se ipsos de valore bonorum et catallorum suorum esse depredatos infra dimidium annum post dcam robberiam leuare et illam eisdem P. et W. secundum formam statuti predicti habere faciatis seu de dictis latronibus infra terminum illum respondeatis/ Ne clamor ad nos inde veniat iteratus per quod ad vos ob vestri defectum in hac parte grauiter capere debeamus. Tę ꝑc.

II. The articles of Trailbaston, transcribed from Cambridge University MS. Dd. vii. 6, f. 61.

Incipiunt Articuli Lincolnie qui dñr Traylebastoun. De quibz Dñus Edwardus Rex pñ Regē Edwardi nunc pcepit inquiri p totam Angliam.

Articlm pñmū. De disseisitoribus.

Fayt a sauoyr ^a qe ceo fayt a enquerre ^a de ceux qui p force e atort e encontre la pex nñe seignur le Roys ^b sunt entreez altrui ^c teneñtz. E qnd il ne pount lur tort ^d mayntenir ne lur force pur pleyntes qe sunt faites uers eux p la ley. adunc ^d bayllent e mettent les tñres e les teneñtz. torcenuseñt ^e entreez en ^e les mayns des g^{nds} seignurs pur ^f continuer p force e p poer lur pmyer tort.^f

Ar. ij. De Minis.

De ceux qui vnt destreynt ^s les assisurs p manaces qe il ne osent dire la vite. Car si il dient rien encont^e lur vite^h il les funt batre e ensi defolier p quoy plusurs pdent lur vies e sunt Mahaigneez pur toz iours. Ensi qe pur doute de eux la vite nen poet estre conue deuant les Ministres nñe seignur le Rey.

Ar. iij. De verberatoribz.

De ceux qui ⁱ sunt batus e funt les g^{nds} bateries ⁱ el pays. e qui sunt prestz e apparaylleez. de ^k estre loweez de ^k tiele chose fayre solum ceo qñ hom les vodra loweer ou purpleer la batterie greyndre ou meyndre. Ceo est a sauoir batterie de .ij. solz. ou de .iij. ou de dñ M^{rc}. ou de .x. sç ou de .xx. le quex icels sunt. e lur abetturs. E les quex a ytieles choses les abettent auowēt ou Mayntenūt.

Ar. iiij. De desideratib' res aliorum.^m

De ceux qⁱ coueytent les t^res de lur poure veysins/ ⁱ si il ne les ne voyllent vendre ne lessir a lur voleynte il les funt batre ou defolier sans ^m sufferir les el pays.^m si la qe lur voleynte seyt acomplie.

Ar. v. De depredatoribus.

De ceux qui vnt robbee; e despoilleez les prudoms el pays de lur biens. E si les greueez en facent pleyntes de lur pertes entre lur voysins: Meyntenant sunt remandeez p mesmes les robburs, qe il ne en plent mes. ⁿ kar il le ⁿ facent: qe il perdrunt lur vies apres lur chatels.

Ar. vj. De eiectoribus et dissitoribz scđarijs.

De ceux qui demoerent el pays e sunt prestz de estre loweez a prendre seysines des eglises e de entreer tñres ^r teneñtz p force e as armes encontre diex e droiture. ^o e colur donēt e ensample as

^a om. H.

^b Edward add. H.

^c tñres et add. H.

^d et lour force sustiner H.

^e entre H.

^f lour p'mer tort continuer et maintenir p' force H.

^g destourbe H.

^h volūte H.

ⁱ fount les bateries H.

^k om. H.

^l et add. H.

^m lesser eus en pees H.

ⁿ et si il H.

^o om. H

aut's el pays de contrefaire lur maluesteez. E Mult serroyt gnd almoygne e oeure de charite de restreyndre lur malice e lur recetturs e lur abetturs atteyndre^e.

Ar. vij. De impediētibz Ministros dñi Regis.

De ceux qⁱ desturbent les Conestables des villes ou les bayllifs ou les autres Ministres n^{re} seignur le Rey/ qe il nen puissent lur office fere come il sūt chargeez de pt n^{re} seignur le Rey pur la pex de sa l^{re} gardeer.

Ar. viij. De falsis Ministris domini Regis.

De ceux qui sunt Conestables des villes ou bayllifs n^{re} seignur le Roy qui vnt lur garant de attachier les felōs e les desturbors de sa pex. e p^{nt}ent dons ou p amisteez ou p autre enchesun lessent aleer les felons ou les funt garnir/ p quey les mandeñt n^{re} seignur le Roys nen purrunt estre pfurniz en nul poynt.

Ar. ix. De Inobedientibus Coronatoribz.

De ceux qui qnd les Coron's ou altres Ministres le Rey deyuēt enq^{rr}e p le pais des homicides e des Murdres ou des aut's murdresurs e trespasurs encontre la pex/ ^ales bayllifs^a funt venir deuant eux les poueres gentz e nyent sachantz/ qui ne scieuent ne ny osent la v^{ite} dir^o. e pient conseil e eyde de Meillur^o gentz qe miex scieuent la v^{ite}. E si Coronyer ou aut^e Ministre troeue la en p^{sent} meillure gentz p les quex la v^{ite} poet estre enquis^e e les comande de p le Roy de aleer al liure: eux en despisant ^ale Coroneer^a e la dignete n^{re} seignur le Roys e sa pex ne voyllent sm^{nt}ent fayre/ ny a ceux en nul poynt obeir. dunt ensi demoerent les felons e les autres malueys del pays despuni.

Ar. x. De hiis qⁱ ipediūt viridā ceram leuari.

De ceux qⁱ qnd n^{re} seign^r le Rey enuoye ses bayllifs pur leuer la verte cire ou aut's dettes par Mandeñt de la Escheke^r^o ou de ses Justices: teles gentz s^r les quex le mandeñt vient: funt batre les baillifs ou defolier. issi qe il ne pount ne ny osent les dites dettes leuer ^bny aprochier.^b

Ar. xj. De homicidijs diut^rnis siue nocturnis.

De ceux qⁱ funt les homicides e les Murdres e ^carsons des Mesuns ou des autres choses ou ^cde iour ou de noyt ^dpriveez ou apertez.^d le quex il sunt e p qui abetteñt il le funt E qui les meyntienēt. E qⁱ les recettent ap^s la felonie fait^e.

Ar. xij. De vagantibz malef^ccoribz noctāt^o.

De ceux qⁱ vunt noyttant^e a force e as armes encētre la pex. e funt ^ebat^e les gentz^e e debruseer sus les hux e les fenestres^f des bone gentz. e funt aut's malueysteez encont^e la pex qnd tēps serroit^g de dormir e de auoir repos. Queles gentz ceo sunt. E q^{les} gentz les recettent e les mayntenēt a tieles choses fayre en tēps ou en hure nyent couenables.

^a-^a la Corone *H.*

^b-^b ne demaunder *H.*

^c-^c larcines *H.*

^d-^d p^{ue}ement ou ap^{te}ment *H.*

^e-^e batre *H.*

^f de mesons *add. H.*

^g a lele gēt^z, *add. H.*

Ar. xiiij. De querentibus occasiones contentionū vt faciant de Iniuria i^o titiā.

De ceux qui en les villes Marchandes ou en ville champestr^o vount hurtant les gentz ou botant des espaulles^a pur q^rre kontek. ^bE puis sen vunt mesmes ceux qⁱ issi hurtent e boutent/ Manascant de vie e de Menbre^b Iesqe tant qe il eyent fayte ^cvne fin^c a lur voleynte^d ou ceo^d ou en denyers^e ou en chatiels ou en vyn.^e Ensi qe les batours puent les amendes e ne mie les batuz. ¶ Explicet.

III. Precept for the imprisonment of suspected persons, dated 7 June, 34 Edw. I., A.D. 1306, transcribed from the Cambridge University MS. D. vii. 6, f. 27.

Inci^o statutum editum ap^o Westm^o Anno .xxxiiij. sup stat^o Wincestr^o fundatum.

Edwardus dei gr^oa Rex Angl^o Dñs Hibernie & Dux Aquit^o vice Norht salm. Cum p^ot^o tranquillitate & pace populi regni n^ori Necnon ad malitiam malefactor^o & pacis nostre pturbato^o repimendam quoddam Statutum ap^o Wintoniam de cōi consilio eiusdē Regni dudū fieri fecimus conseruandū^f et m^oxime dū ad rebellionem Robti de Brus inimici & rebellis n^ori p^o Dei adiutorium refrenandā ad ptes Scotie sim^o pfecturi/ valde vtile fore reputamus t^o qd in omib^o suis articulis firmi^o volum^o obseruari/ ac satis notorium existat qd malefcores ac felones ac ce^ole innu^oabiles psone quib^o manifesta suspitio lat^ocinij ac felonie hetur tam in balliua tua q^o alibi in di^osis Comitab^o Regni n^ori dep^odationes hi^o & alia enormia nocte dieq^o clam & palam contra pacem n^oram ppet^ontes vagantur disc^orūt receptantur manutenētur & moram faciunt manifestam. quos malefcores receptatores manutenentes & eis consentientes tu qui pacē nostram in dicta balliua tua spalit^o cons^ouare teneris si p^o ea ibidem cōseruanda diligentiam appon^oe curares ut de^obes. Desicut posse Com^o p^odicti in quib^ocumq^o hi^o ne^ocitab^o ad tuam sumonitionē & distr^octionē est subiectum/ cape p^oses & arestare/ tibi f^omiter iungēdo p^ocipim^o qd statutū illud in Com^o tuo n^onō in Ciuitab^o Burge hundrdis villis m^ocatorijs & locis alijs in balliā tua tam infra lib^otates quā ex^o & vbi expedire videris puplice facias recitari & in singulis suis articulis ten^oi. Pre^otea q^o nō est nobis incognitum qd singulor^o aurib^o inculcatur: vidēt qd di^osi p^odones & felones coram Justic^o n^oris ad felonias & t^onsgrones in di^osis Comitab^o regni n^ori contra pacē n^oram factas audiend^o & terminandas assignatis se iustitiam nō permitunt. s^o cū in exigendis ponantur ad diversos Comitatus se t^onsferunt & in eis latitāt morant^o & ita qd de eis manifesta suspitio felonie ac mali p^o eoz ex^oneos aduen^o variosq^o incessus & nocturnos & q^ondoq^o p^o eoz voluptuosas expensas h^ori pot^o & hetur: Et lic^o in statuto n^oro Westm^o contineatur qd nullus capiatur vl imp^osonetur n^oi p^oius p^o sac^om duodeci iuratore^o fuit indictatus et eoz indicatūm p^o sigilla sua postmodū fuit testificatum volum^o tñ & p^ocipim^o qd om^os t^oes de quib^o manifesta suspitio felonie aut lat^ocinij hetur/ quos in balliua tua tam infra lib^otates q^o ex^o inueniri otig^oit/ q^omq^o inde sic indictati nō fūint sine dilōne arestari & salvo & secure in p^osona n^ora c^otodiri facias donec scdm legem & cōsuetudinē regni n^ori de ea delibentur. Et hec p^omissa taliter executioi facias

^a en feires et en marche; *add. H.*

^b et les gentz de vie et de membre manasent *H.*

^c e lour gre *H.*

^d a om. *H.*

^e ou en vin ou en chivals *H.*

^f quod pro pace nostra firmitus conservanda *Rot. Claus.*

demandari sicut teipm diligis ⁊ de receptatione ⁊ cōsensu p̄dictoz malefcoz lib esse volūis ⁊ imunis. et ne ad te tāq^a de p̄dictis maleficijs culpabilem nos cape deām⁹. Et talē ac tantam diligentiam cont^a hi⁹ malefcores suspectos ⁊ manifeste felones tā p te q^a p posse dicti Comitatus apponas ne tibi p⁹t p̄sens mandatū n̄m imputari possit seu debat/ qđ p tuā negtiam ⁊ cōsensum talia intolerabilia infra balliām tuam amodo ppetrent. volum⁹ ī qđ ex pte n̄ra p̄cipias ⁊ f̄mi⁹l iniūgas oībz baffis Coñ tui tam infra libtates q^a ex^a qđ ipi eamdē diligentiam p pacis n̄re q̄s⁹uatione in suis custodijs apponant ⁊ tali⁹ se hant in hac pte ne penam ī dicto statuto cōtētam icurrant ⁊ nichomin⁹ p voluntate n̄ra imp̄sonētur ⁊ ab ea g^aui⁹l rediman⁹l. Quod si nō fecint tu ip̄e in defcū eorumđ baffioz libtates illas ingrediari/ quotienscūq n̄ce fuit/ ⁊ p̄missa in oībz in forma supradicta stric- tius f̄⁹ facias ⁊ obseruari. Et quos hi⁹ (*sic*) mandatum n̄m cōtēpnētes in ip̄o exeq̄ndo remissos seu negligentes v̄l oīo exeqi nolētes inuen⁹is capias. ⁊ de noībz eorumđ Justice n̄ris ad felonias ⁊ t^ansḡrones ī Coñ tuo cont^a pacē n̄ram factas aud ⁊ l̄minand assignatis instan⁹l p⁹tq^a eos sic cepis constare facias. vt ijdem sic capti nob de cōtēptu predcō coram eis veniant responsuri ⁊ facturi qđ Cur⁹ q̄sidaūit in hac pte. Teste meip̄o ap̄ Westm̄ .vij. die Junij. Anno r⁹ n̄ .xxxiiij.— Explicē Statutē de s̄pectis ip̄sonād.

VIII.—*Remarks on a Portrait of the Duchess of Milan, recently discovered at Windsor Castle, probably painted by HOLBEIN at Brussels in the year 1538. By GEORGE SCHARF, Esq., F.S.A., in a Letter addressed to the Earl STANHOPE, President.*

Read November 19, 1863.

National Portrait Gallery.
Nov. 19th, 1863.

MY LORD,

I BEG to lay before the Society a few notes on an historical portrait, which I was so fortunate as to discover recently at Windsor Castle, and the original of which Her Majesty has been most graciously pleased to permit to be exhibited to the Society this evening.

The portrait has for a considerable time past occupied a prominent place in the small apartment of the Castle known as the Waiting-room, which is situated close by the entrance to the Royal pew in the Private Chapel. It is the same room that I described on a former occasion, and the picture belongs to the same series of Royal Portraits as I had alluded to in my paper printed in the *Archæologia* (Vol. XXXIX. page 245). This portrait, both for its subject and on account of the circumstances under which it appears to have been painted, throws further light on a passage in Mr. Franks's remarks on the discovery of the will of Hans Holbein, (*Archæologia*, Vol. XXXIX. page 7), and is connected also with my own remarks on a picture at Hampton Court representing the "Three Children of the King of Denmark," printed in the *Archæologia* (Vol. XXXIX. page 257). The portrait now under consideration, although holding a prominent position in a panel next the window, was unnamed. It represents, as will be seen (Plate IV.), a lady in a dark dress trimmed with fur, now nearly as dark as the dress, and wearing a black cap. The peculiarities of the features, and the stern simplicity of the dress, combined with the somewhat studious display of a cameo of the ring on the third finger of her left hand, could hardly fail to command atten-



T.H. Maquire lith.

M & N Hanhart imp

CHRISTINA DUCHESS OF MILAN.

From the original Painting in Windsor Castle.

tion. The manner of holding her gloves was in itself a peculiarity, and the solid blackness of her dress and sleeves and cap, destitute of such folds and minute details as the painters of that age so freely indulged in, being totally "empty," as the artist would technically express it, attracted my attention from the first time of my noticing the picture. The countenance strongly indicated a relationship to the Emperor Charles V., whilst the gold ring containing a square black stone, and a black ring on her other hand, were expressive of mourning, if not of widowhood. Until very recently, I believed the picture to have been intended for Mary of Austria, sister of Charles V., widow of the King of Hungary, and Regent of the Netherlands. That is the same lady who is represented at an early age in a broad hat in the picture belonging to the Society of Antiquaries,^a and, at a later period of life, in a curious portrait at Hampton Court. The latter picture is described in the Catalogue of King Charles I. collection, and is verified by a curious engraving in Grimeston's History of the Netherlands, fol. Lond. 1627, page 196.

When referring to my notes made at Arundel Castle, after having recently been at Windsor, I was struck with the similarity of manner in which the gloves were held in two pictures, namely, in the full-length Holbein of the Duchess of Milan at Arundel, and in the unknown lady's portrait at Windsor Castle. Moreover, the simplicity of dress, the plain white of the small frill and ruffles, bordered merely with a black line, and the square form of the black cap entirely concealing any hair, were sufficient for all general purposes of identity. It was, however, satisfactory, although not sufficient for me to believe that I had recovered a missing portrait belonging to the royal collection, and that the picture at Windsor really represented Christina, Duchess of Milan. This lady is generally familiar to us through the answer which she sent to Henry VIII., on his soliciting her hand in marriage. She declined the honour on the ground that nature had not prepared her for it by endowing her with two heads! The negotiations which Henry entered into in regard to this alliance have been fully quoted by Mr. Franks in his paper on Holbein, before referred to (Vol. XXXIX. pages 6 and 7). Holbein, as we have there seen, was sent to Brussels, where the Duchess was then staying with her aunt Mary, Regent of the Netherlands, for the express purpose of taking her portrait for the king his master.

The letter from Brussels, written by John Hutton, the diplomatic resident from the English court, and dated 14th March, 1538, shows that Holbein arrived

^a See Fine Arts Quarterly Review, vol. ii., p. 326.

there on the 10th, and on the following day acquitted himself of his appointed task in three hours. This limitation of time is also recorded by Lord Herbert^a and noticed by Walpole in his anecdotes.^b The picture by Holbein could only have been a drawing or a painting on a rather small scale, inasmuch as it had at once to be conveyed by a messenger to England, and one of the objects of Hutton's letter was to show the diligence with which the king's commands were executed and to announce the coming of the picture. The scale and workmanship of the picture before us are exactly such as might have been expected from a first-rate painter and tactician under such circumstances. All essential points are observed with scrupulous fidelity, and, certainly, as far as internal evidence extends, without flattery. It is not to be supposed that Holbein did nothing to the picture beyond the term of the three hours' sitting afforded by the duchess. Having secured all the essential points of likeness, and given the general colouring, he doubtless spent some time in further finishings from memory. But time must have been given for the picture to dry.

Hutton also speaks of a second picture of the duchess, likewise intended for the king, and painted, at the lady's own command, immediately before the arrival of Holbein. The picture had just been sent off: but, as soon as Hutton saw that Holbein had acquitted himself so well, he sent to overtake the other messenger and to prevent the picture reaching its destination too early. Of Holbein's work, he says to the Lord Privy Seal, Lord Cromwell, "Mr. Haunce, having but three hours space, hath showed himself to be master of that science (the making of physiognomies), for it is very perfect; the other is but slobbered in comparison to it, as by the sight of both your lordship shall well apperceive." We thus find that both pictures went to England at the same time. The "Slobbered" one has still to be found. This epithet would certainly neither suit the truthful and careful portrait before us nor the very fine whole-length picture now preserved at Arundel Castle. As Mr. Franks observes in a note, "it is a full-length picture carefully painted, and could not have been executed in the time." He further suggests, and with great probability, that the Arundel picture was perhaps painted from a sketch made by Holbein on this occasion. This I quite believe to have been the case.

Before compiling these notes I again went to Arundel and, by the favour of the Duchess of Norfolk, examined the picture very minutely. It is very fine

^a Lord Herbert's "Life and Reign of King Henry VIII.," printed in Kennett's *History of England*. Fol. 1706. Vol. II. page 214.

^b Page 72 note, of Dallaway and Wornum's edition.

and in excellent condition, and evidently represents the same person; but the dress has obviously been improved and the entire appearance of the person softened or subdued under a harmless tone of flattery. The hands are less clenched and the fingers much more tapering and delicate than in the original study done at Brussels. The fur down the front of her dress is narrowed and of a paler brown than in the painting at Windsor, but the plain white of the small frill is quite the same. There is a further argument to show that the full-length picture may have been painted some time after the year 1538, as the name and titles of the lady written on a painted piece of paper, on the blue background, designate her "Duchess of Lorraine." The inscription reads thus:—"Christine, Daughter to Christierne King of Denmark, and Dutchess of Lotragne and heretofore (?) Dutches of Milan." This would, if the writing be contemporary with the picture, bring the date to 1541, the year of her second marriage to Francis, Duke of Lorraine and Barr. The style of writing on the paper may perhaps raise some question, and may possibly be found to belong to the period of James I. when, through his Queen and the occasional presence of Christian IV. in England, a considerable interest was felt in matters connected with Denmark. There can, however, be no reason to doubt the correctness of the designation of the portrait, and it may also be confirmed by a reference to existing medals, both of Sforza^a and Lorraine, and by the fine engraving or etching of the duchess by Agostino Carracci, published in Campo's History of Cremona.^b

The picture now at Arundel Castle would appear to have been for some time in the possession of the Howard family; since Walpole observes in a note to his anecdotes, "Vertue saw a whole length of this princess at Mr. Howard's in Soho Square." It was afterwards at Worksop Manor (then belonging to the Duke of Norfolk), in company with many of the best of the family paint-

^a Litta, Famiglie Celebre Italiane, volume i. Attendolo-Sforza, Medals illustrative of Tavola vi. No. 12. The Duchess is represented in profile to the right with the legend CHRISTIERNA. DVC. MED. On the reverse, a Pine apple, with FRANC. SFOR. SECONDI. VSOR round it, and date 1533.

^b Cremona da Antonio Campo pittore e Cavalier Cremonese. Folio, 1585, page 107. The head is spiritedly engraved within an oval border inscribed + CHRISTIERNA DANIAE REGIS FIL. FRANC. II. SFORTIÆ VX. The face is seen in three quarters, to the left, wearing a close cap covering the ears, and a small portion of the hair on each side at the temples. A white dress covers the bosom and terminates at the neck in a plain turn-over collar. A fur trimming passes over her shoulders. The portrait is inscribed, "E cavata la sua effigie da un quadro à oglio che è appresso à Don Antonio Londonio Presidente del Magistrato ordinario di Milano."

ings, all of which have since been removed to Arundel Castle. The picture was at that time in a small dressing-room and particularly mentioned as "a very curious portrait of a Duchess of Milan."^a It is, however, very probable that this picture was originally in the royal collection, for we find in the inventory of King Henry's pictures, referred to on a former occasion, the following entry, bearing date April 24th, 1542:—

"A greate table with the picture of the Duchyes of Myllayne, beinge her whole stature."

The picture at Arundel so far corresponds to the description. It is in a ponderous and very ill-suited frame; unfortunately screwed to the wall, so that there was no opportunity of examining the back of the panel and ascertaining whether any brand or marking were upon it.

The general design of the picture will be shown by the accompanying sketch, (Plate V.) which I have reduced from the tracing of the picture made by the kind permission of the Duchess of Norfolk.

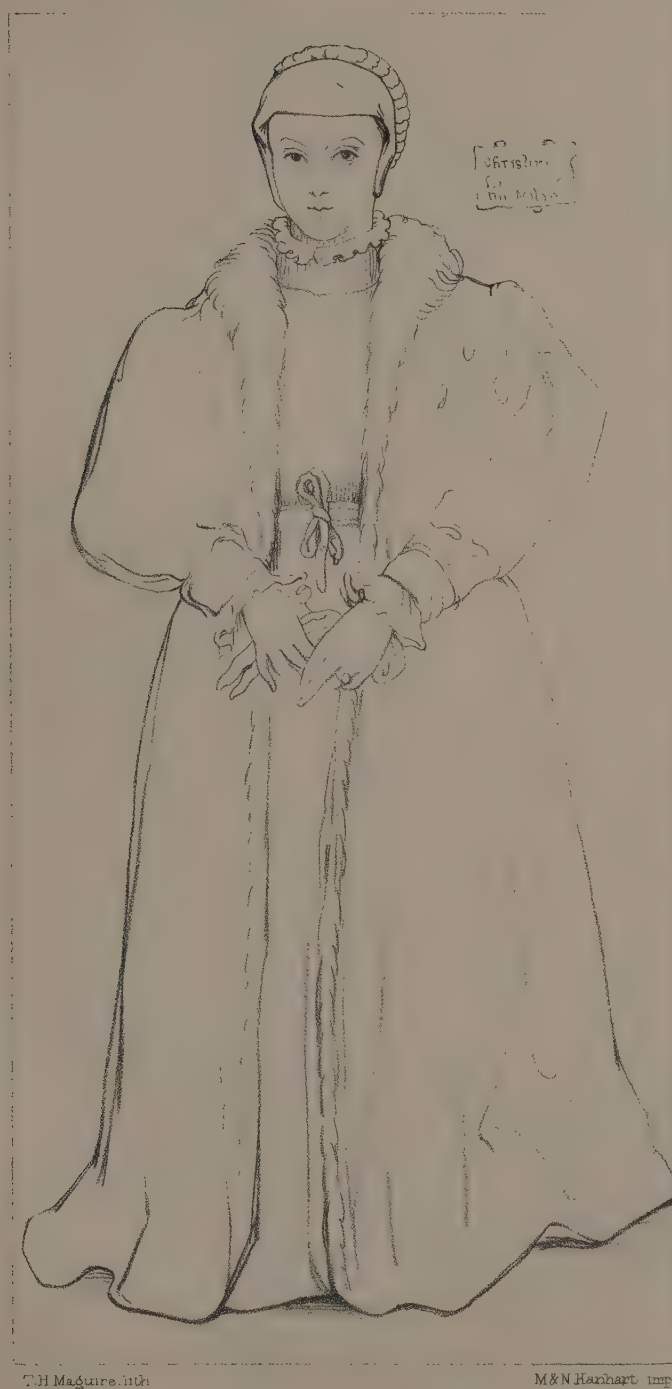
The smaller picture, which seems to have duly reached its destination, after leaving Brussels, appears to correspond with a *second* picture of the Duchess of Milan which occurs in the Catalogue of pictures belonging to King Henry VIII., under the shorter designation,

"A Table with a Picture of the Duchesse of Myllayne."

There can, I think, be very little doubt that the entry refers to the picture now before us; since the other entry particularly specified "her whole stature."

We have yet one further point of interest in connection with this portrait. It not only affords a desirable illustration for Mr. Franks's account of Holbein's operations in 1538, but gives us also an additional representation of one of the "three children of the King of Denmark," whose portraits, no longer to be found in their native country, (Archæologia, Vol. XXXIX. pages 257 and 262) formed one of the subjects of my communication to the Archæologia. This Duchess of Milan is identical with the little black-eyed girl, wearing a peculiar hood, seen on the right hand side in the Hampton Court picture. The same features and expression of countenance, notwithstanding the difference of years, may be traced in both. The look of the eyes is quite the same, and I would also invite attention to the form of the upper eyelids which, especially in the Arundel picture, become remarkably broad on the side away from the nose. The dark

^a Beauties of England and Wales, published in 1813, "Nottinghamshire," vol. xii. page 344.



T.H. Maguire. lith.

M & N Harbapt. imp.

Chris Line Daughter to Chr
St. James K. of Denmar & Dutchess
of Burgundy and her
Duchess of Milan

eyebrows on the full-length picture I found on careful investigation had been reduced by scraping, which tends to give a somewhat softer and more melancholy expression to the countenance. There is also in the deeper shadows about the temples, under the black cap of the Arundel portrait, suggestion of hair without any being actually shown. The entire concealment of hair and muffling up of the neck give an appearance of a far more advanced age than was really the case. She was at the period of her arrival at Brussels in 1537 only 16. Her personal appearance is thus described in a letter written by Hutton to Lord Cromwell, 9th December,—“The Duchess of Milan arrived here as yesterday, very honourably accompanied as well of her own train as with such as departed from hence to meet her. I am informed she is of the age of 16 years, very high of stature for that age. She is higher than the Regent, a goodly personage of body and competent of beauty, of favour excellent, soft of speech, and very gentle in countenance. She weareth mourning aparel after the manner of Italy.”^a He further adds, in a note to Wriothesley,—

“She is not so pure white as was the late Queen; but she hath a singular good countenance, and when she chanceth to smile, there appeareth two pitts in her cheeks and one in her chin, the which becomith her excellently well.”^b

In a letter dated February 21st, Hutton also adds, “In her speaking she lispeth which doth nothing inisbecome her.” Thus far have we accounts of the personal appearance and deportment of a distinguished lady taken at a very remarkable period. When applied to the pictures these descriptions appear to be perfectly consistent. A third picture appears to have been painted of the Duchess in richer apparel, a day or two before Hutton’s first interview with her, as his letter, dated 21st February, from Brussels and addressed to Lord Cromwell clearly indicates. After having seen the Duchess in company with the Regent, he accepted an invitation to dine with “The Lady Marqueis of Barrough.” His letter proceeds to state—“She made great praise of the Duchess of Milan, as well for her beauty, favour, wisdom, and for her much gentleness, all which sayings I affirmed. With that she said that if I had seen her out of her morning apparell, so gorgeously as she had seen her the day before, I would have marvelled, for she said, to tell me a secret, she caused her picture to be made, which being finished, the Duchess had promised to give it to her, so that she of her own motion said, as soon as it came to her hands I should have a sight thereof.”

^a State Papers, vol. viii. pages 6 and 7.

^b Ib. vol. viii. page 16.

It is satisfactory to think that the recognition of this portrait takes place so soon after the valuable literary notices by Mr. Franks and Mr. J. G. Nichols upon the works of Holbein and his contemporaries, as to afford a supplement to their theme, and to contribute, in some degree, to our knowledge of the state of Art in connection with the History of our country at a very important period.

I have the honour to be,

Your very obedient Servant,

GEORGE SCHARF.

To The Earl Stanhope, P.S.A.

&c. &c. &c.

IX.—*An Account of remarkable Subterranean Chambers at Trelowarren, the Seat of Sir R. R. Vyvyan, Bart., in the County of Cornwall.* By J. T. BLIGHT, Esq.

Read March 10th, 1864.

ON the beautiful domain of Trelowarren there are, in good preservation, very remarkable subterranean chambers, which appear to have been unknown to Dr. Borlase, the county antiquary, and are mentioned by one only of the Cornish historians, Polwhele. Polwhele's description, however, being unaccompanied by plans or accurate measurements, is of little use to the archæologist, and no more may be gathered from his remarks than that those galleries were not in his day, about fifty years ago, so easily to be investigated as at the present time.

Whilst submitting a description of these curious and interesting structures, I shall not presume to offer any definite opinion as to their age or the purpose for which they were constructed, but hope, by plans, sections, and views, to convey some idea of the peculiarity of their formation, so that they may be compared with the subterranean chambers or galleries found in other parts of the kingdom, and in those countries peopled by Celtic tribes.

The spot on which they are situated is named Halligey, about five or six minutes' walk from Trelowarren House, and occupies the crest of a sweeping undulation of the country, for it can scarcely be called a hill, neither is it a very commanding site.

There is, at first sight, nothing particular to attract attention to these chambers; but it will be observed that the soil rises over them as if banked up, but not sufficiently high or definite in form to be termed a barrow—indeed it might be taken for no more than a natural formation of the ground, now intersected by one or more hedges.

The present entrance is at A on the accompanying plan (fig. 1); this, however, is not the original one, but simply a hole pierced through the side in

modern times. On entering through this, the explorer finds himself in a dark chamber or cave. It is impossible without some artificial light to see more than a yard in advance, or to know which direction to take. The sides exhibit the

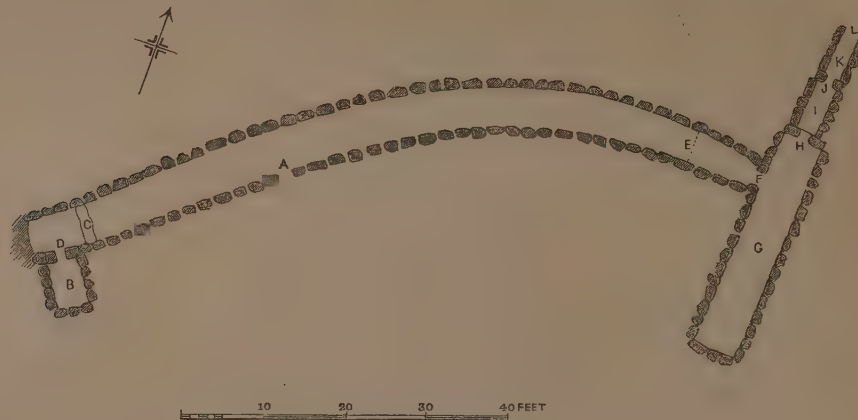


FIG. 1. PLAN OF CAVE.

rudest and most primitive kind of masonry, rough blocks of unhewn stone being built up without cement or attention to regularity in their courses; these project somewhat inwards until they reach the roof, formed of large blocks of stone thrown horizontally across; the interstices, where not closely fitting, are filled by smaller stones placed between. This gallery, (fig. 2) slightly

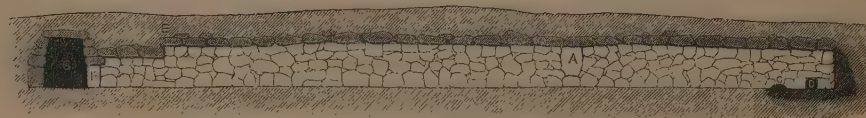


FIG. 2. SECTION OF GALLERY RUNNING EAST AND WEST.

curved, and running nearly east and west, measures in length about 90 feet, and varies from three to five feet in breadth; it is not of uniform height, being about 6 feet high in the middle, but lower towards the extremities. *E* on the plan marks a decided step in the roof, and from this part to the entrance *F* (fig. 6) the height is only four feet. At *c* a rock rises above the level of the floor, and a mass of rock forms the end of this gallery. The doorway *D* is 1 foot 4 inches high by 1 foot 4 wide, with jambs and lintel each of a single stone, and leads into a chamber (*B*) about 6 feet long, lower than the main gallery, but roofed in a similar manner.

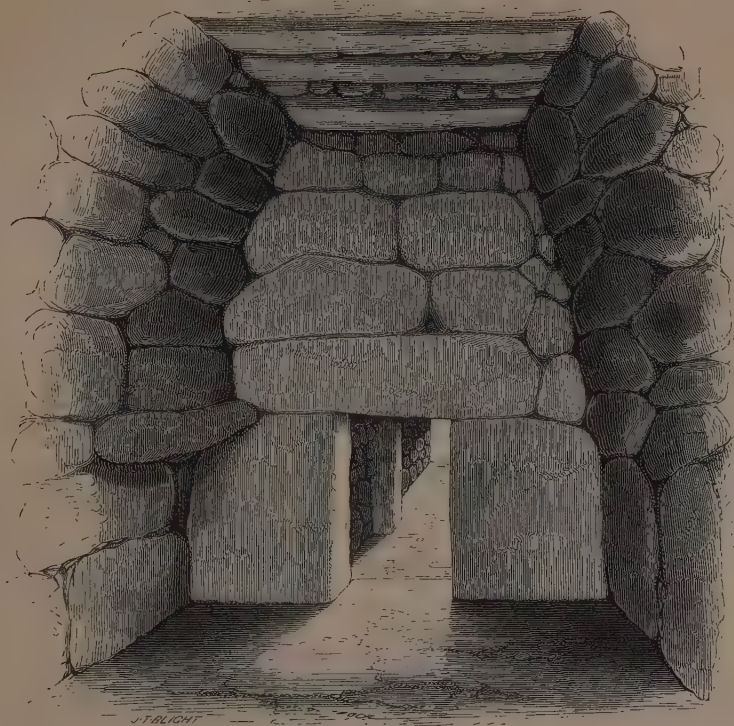


FIG. 5. DOORWAY H.—LOOKING NORTH.

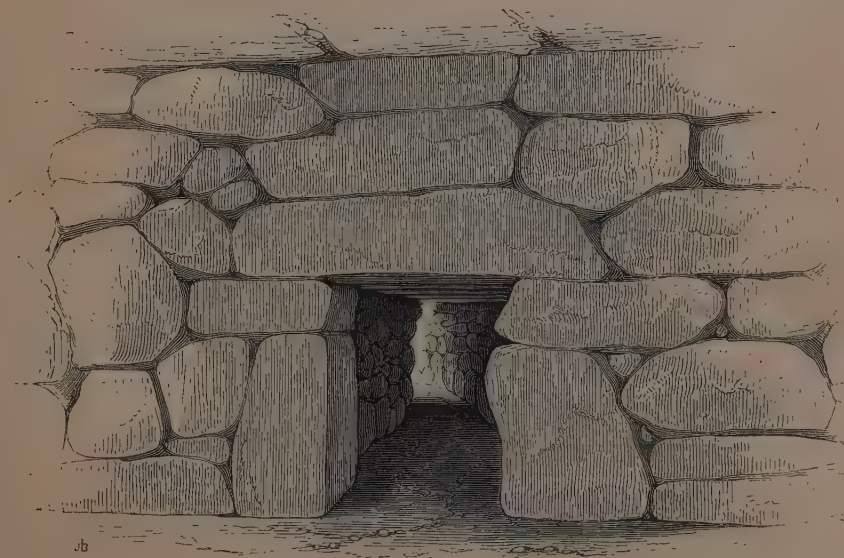


FIG. 6. DOORWAY F.—LOOKING WEST.

The gallery G (fig. 3), which runs north and south, is 28 feet in length, 5 feet 6 inches in breadth, and 6 feet high. It is connected to the other by an

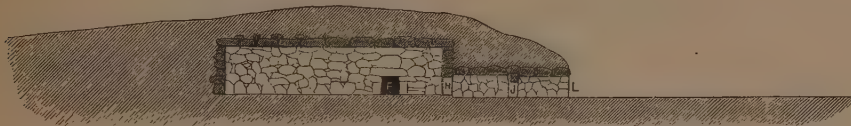


FIG. 3. SECTION OF GALLERY RUNNING NORTH AND SOUTH.

entrance F, 3 feet high by 2 feet 3 inches wide, and with jambs and lintel placed somewhat regularly. In the north end of this gallery a doorway (H), 2 feet 3 inches high by 1 foot 6 inches wide (see fig. 5), opens into a chamber or cell (I) 6 feet 6 inches long, 2 feet 3 inches wide, and 3 feet high. At the end of this another entrance (J), 2 feet high by 1 foot 4 inches wide, gives access to the cell K, 6 feet long, 2 feet wide, and 2 feet 6 inches high. The original entrance to the whole structure was at L, but it is now blocked by a modern hedge. In all the doorways the stones for jambs and lintels seem to have been carefully selected, but none have been wrought into form. As the immediate neighbourhood is not of a rocky character, it must have been a work of considerable labour and time to have collected all the material for the building of these chambers. Some of the stones are of great size, and have been removed and adjusted by powerful means. It appears therefore that much importance was attached to those structures, and it seems to have been necessary that they should be substantially built. There can be no doubt that they were within the precincts of an ancient fort; indeed, on the east and south-east of the mound, two earthen embankments with an intervening ditch 10 yards wide may still be traced (see fig. 4). No stones are used in the formation of the camp, but about 150 yards south-west of it is an ancient well rudely built around, somewhat after the manner of the cave.

Though the subterranean galleries at Trelowarren are by far the most important in Cornwall, there exist other examples of much interest. Those of Bolleit and Pendeen, in the Land's End district, have been described by Borlase. The former was enclosed within a triple entrenchment, and at St. Antony, near Trelowarren, a similar passage was connected with an ancient camp. Polwhele mentions a third in a like situation in the parish of St. Constantine. From the positions of others, however, it seems doubtful whether or no they could ever have been so inclosed. It is well known that subterranean galleries of precisely the same

character are found within the old forts or raths of Ireland, and similar structures exist in Scotland.

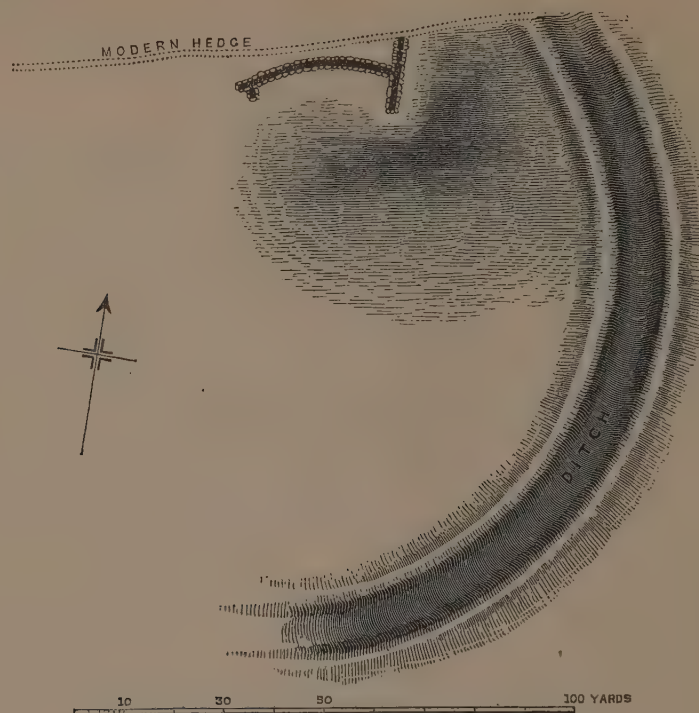


FIG. 4. PLAN SHOWING REMAINS OF INCLOSING DITCH.

At Chapel Uny, in Sancreed, a parish west of Penzance, are remains of a structure of this kind; the principal passage expands into a circular chamber, the roof of which has fallen, but it was evidently dome-shaped, and of what is termed the bee-hive construction. At the supposed British village of Chysauster, near Penzance, is a cave in which each course of stone also overlaps that beneath.

In all it will be observed, that, whilst the principal galleries are sufficiently high for a man to stand upright within them, the doorways are extremely low, and can only be entered by stooping—in most instances by creeping on hands and knees. The average height of those entrances is about 3 feet; but at Bolleit the outer one measures 4 feet 2 inches. The long galleries are generally curved, and every means appears to have been adopted to make them as intricate as possible.

Dr. Borlase says that in a field at Trelowarren there was opened in July, 1751, an earthen barrow very wide in circumference, but not 5 feet high; in it was

found a parcel of stones set in some order, forming a cavity 2 feet in diameter and of equal height; it enclosed bones of all sorts, intermixed with wood ashes. There was no urn in the cavity, but two were found at a distance of a few feet from it, one on each side, with their mouths turned downwards and small bones and ashes inclosed. The Doctor also says, that the workmen found near the middle of the mound three thin bits of brass—the fragments of a sword or other instrument.^a Polwhele thinks that the barrow described by Borlase stood over the subterranean galleries; if such were the case, it would show how completely the cave was hid, when such an acute observer as Dr. Borlase could have walked over it without perceiving the least trace of its existence. It is probable, however, that the barrow described by the Doctor stood between the cave and Trelowarren House; where a large mound raised on the remains of an ancient barrow may still be seen.

Some years ago, there were, I believe, pieces of ancient pottery found within the Trelowarren cave; but nothing at present shows for what purposes this structure was designed—it is quite unsuited as a dwelling-place, having no openings for light or air other than could come through one small doorway. Numerous instances might be given of places of sepulture having somewhat similar arrangements, but the Cornish caves have as yet yielded but little to prove that they were used as such. In the Constantine cave Polwhele found a pit containing ashes. The situation of these galleries within forts seems, however, to show that they were specially connected with military operations. Passages of this kind in Ireland are considered by archæologists of that country to have been constructed as depositaries for stores, arms, provisions, and such necessities as required protection from the weather, and yet be at hand ready for use. In some British camps, where such galleries do not exist, square or round walled pits are found, as at Worle Camp and in a few of the Cornish “hill castles.” These have been considered store chambers; whether they are in any way akin to the subterranean galleries may be worthy of consideration.

These subterranean passages are by the Cornish people called caves—in the Cornish language “Fougous.” That at Bolleit in St. Burian parish is still known as the “Fogou,” and the place in the parish of St. Keverne on which a cave was situated is named *Polkanogou*. In Ireland they are also known as caves. In an account of two Irish missionaries of the seventh century, Saints Marinus and Anianus, contributed to the Royal Irish Academy by Dr. Reeves in the early part of the present year, we read, “Finding their labours among the

^a Borlase's *Antiquities of Cornwall*, p. 201, ed. 1754.

pastoral inhabitants of the neighbourhood successful, they resolved upon settling in this region for the rest of their days, and erected huts for themselves *over two caves* about two Italian miles asunder."

There can be little doubt that these structures are to be referred to a very remote period, but to what exact date or for what purposes they were used is uncertain. It is to be hoped, however, that they may be more carefully examined, and that some discovery may be made within them, from which we may learn whether they really were places for some of the purposes of the everyday life of our rude forefathers, or whether in those long, gloomy recesses were deposited the remains of the warlike tribes who peopled the slopes and fortified the summits of the western hills.

X.—*Royston Court House and its Appurtenances.* By JOSEPH BELDAM, Esq., F.S.A.

Read January 15th, 1863.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the town of Royston had entirely lost its monastic character. For more than half a century its venerable priory had been dissolved; the solemn chant was no longer heard within its walls; the holy brotherhood had been dispersed, and the youngest among them before this time had probably paid the debt of nature. A new era had arrived. The site of the priory, with the buildings upon it, and a manor, including a great part of the town, had been sold to Mr. Robert Chester, one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to King Henry VIII., and the conventual edifices had been converted into a private mansion. About the same time as the priory, the free hospital of St. James and St. John of Jerusalem, and the free chapel of St. Nicholas, had been secularized; and the hermitage at the cross, beneath which lay the long-concealed but since celebrated cave or oratory, had been transformed by the lord of the manor into a market house and a prison, designed for the use of both sides of the parish, then newly created.

Royston, in short, had become nothing more than a small provincial town, with no other distinction than its great corn and cattle market, and its numerous accommodations for travellers along the great high road into the North. A large proportion of the town, in fact, had always consisted of inns, and the place stood at the distance of an easy two days' journey from London.

Owing to its local position and to other circumstances, Royston had at various times been favoured with the visits of royal personages and other travellers of note, among whom may be mentioned an illustrious party in the reign of Edward I., including John of Brabant, the King's son-in-law, who came here from Dunstable to celebrate a grand tournament and enjoy the amusement of hawking. John of Gaunt, who possessed a mansion at Bassingbourn, within which parish stands a portion of the town of Royston, and his son Henry IV. also must have been occasional visitors. In the reign of Henry VI. we learn that Richard, Duke of York, aspiring to the crown, accompanied by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Salisbury, and the celebrated Earl of Warwick, and escorted

by an army 3,000 strong, came to Royston; and from thence, after dispatching a letter of complaint to the King, marched directly to St. Alban's, to fight the first great battle in the Wars of the Roses. Edward IV. likewise was at Royston with his forces, when he received a treacherous letter from his brother the Duke of Clarence; and from thence moved forward to fight the sanguinary battle of Lose Coats, and to quell the insurrection in Lincolnshire. Cardinal Wolsey, on his journey of exile to his diocese of York, passed one night in the priory at Royston, previously to its dissolution; and the new mansion afterwards built on the site was proposed as one of Queen Elizabeth's resting-places on her progress into Norfolk in the year 1578, although the superior residence at Audley End was ultimately preferred.

But, on the 30th April, 1603, Royston was about to be honoured by the permanent residence of a sovereign, whose attachment to the place, kindled, it would seem, at first sight, never diminished to the end of his life.

In the evening of that auspicious day, King James I. of England, on his way to the metropolis, to assume the sovereignty of this realm, arrived at Royston, after a tedious journey from Hinchinbrooke, the seat of that hospitable knight, Sir Oliver Cromwell; and was met a little beyond the borders of the county, to the north of the town, by the High Sheriff of Hertfordshire, Sir Edward Denny, attended, as we learn from the contemporary chronicler,^a by a goodly company of proper men, being in number seven score, all clothed in blue coats, white doublets, hats, and feathers, and all mounted on horses, with red saddles—the knight himself being equipped in a rich suit of a yellow dun colour, somewhat resembling the colour of his horse and his furniture. And thus, in brave manner, was the King conducted to Master Chester's house, where His Majesty lay that night on his own kingly charge; and the next day he proceeded on his journey towards London.

Nichols, in a note to this Narration, thinks it probable that the journey of this day extended to Cockenhatch, another residence of the Chester family, situated about four miles from Royston on the Barkway Hills. But this writer was probably not aware of the existence of a mansion at the Priory of larger dimensions and greater convenience—a fact to which we shall have further occasion to allude; and which, independently of the superior accommodations afforded to the King's retinue by the numerous inns of Royston, and the improbability of a needless prolongation of so fatiguing a journey, might have been deemed conclusive in favour of the

^a A Narration of the Progresse and Entertainment of the King, &c., printed in Nichols's Progresses of James I., vol. i. p. 55.

Priory, if no positive proof had been accessible. A more recent investigation, however, has led to the discovery of a document, which proves that the Priory mansion was the personal residence of King James during the whole of the first year of his sojourn at Royston; and that it continued to be occupied by the Masters of the Requests, and the clerks, controllers, and other officers of the royal household, during the remainder of that and the following reign.

It might seem difficult to account for the King's strong predilection, so early manifested, for a place of such moderate pretensions—the town itself being uninviting, the situation bleak, on the northern side of open downs, and surrounded by a country described by Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners as healthy and clean, but having no pleasant prospects and but few rural charms. But these negative qualifications, by suggesting some resemblance to the land of the King's nativity, might possibly have created in him the first agreeable impression; while the advantages it possessed of a moderate distance from the Metropolis—too far off to occasion frequent intrusion, and yet sufficiently near for the demands of urgent public business; and, above all, the opportunities it afforded for the indulgence of various field sports, in which the King delighted, may sufficiently explain the royal preference.

Whatever motives chiefly prevailed, we find, in fact, that within a few months after his first visit, and even before his coronation, King James had more than once returned to Royston, taking up his abode at the Priory, and superintending the building and preparation of a residence of his own, which appears to have been first purchased in the name, and very probably at the cost, of the Earl of Lincoln; a property which continued to be enlarged and improved from time to time during the whole of King James's reign, but which never became suitable to the dignity of a court, though convenient enough for the purpose of a royal hunting seat and the occasional reception of visitors.

No very distinct idea can be formed of Royston Court House at this initiatory stage. All that we certainly know is, that it was situate on the east side of the street called the Armynge Street; that it consisted in all probability of several tenements united together; and that its accommodations must have been of a very humble description. Some notion may indeed be gathered of the simplicity of these accommodations from the amusing narrative of Sir John Harrington's first interview with the King in January 1604-5, a very short period after his Majesty had entered into possession.

"When I came," says the worthy knight,^a "to the presence chamber, and had

^a Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i. p. 492.

gotten good place to see the lordly attendants, and bowed my knee to the Prince, I was ordered by a special messenger, and that in secret sort, to wait awhile in an outward chamber; whence, in near an hour waiting, the same knave led me up a passage, and so to a small room where was good order of paper, ink, and pens put on a board for the Prince's use." Here a curious colloquy took place with the royal pedant; "at the conclusion of which," adds the knight, "I made my curtsey, and withdrew down the passage and out at the gate, amidst the many varlets and lordly servants who stood around."

The first definite information we gain of the royal property is derived from a manorial survey of the dissolved priory and of the parish of Royston, taken on oath before the suitors of the manor in May 1610: and from this document we learn that considerable acquisitions had then been made.

"The King's Majesty (say the suitors,) holdeth freely one 'fayre house,' sometime two several tenements called the Greyhound and the Cock, late in the tenure of Simon Swynburne, gent., next the free messuage of Judith Wylson on the south, and on a tenement with a garden plot and ground, parcel of the demesne of the manor, now in the occupation of his Majesty, on the north. The west head abutteth on Armynge Street.

"On the north lyeth a tenement with a yard and garden, containing in length from the said street to the ground belonging to the Swan 142 feet, and in breadth from his Majesty's house to the north 65 feet, every foot being 12 inches, parcel of the demesne of the manor, and demised by indenture to John Gott, lying next his Majesty's house on the south, and Gray's Close on the north. The east head abutteth on the ground belonging to the Swan, and the west on the street now called Huntingdon Way, also York Way.

"At the east end whereof the King's Majesty hath builded up divers fair chambers and lodgings, and likewise on the south side thereof hath builded up a porch, and of the residue thereof hath made part of a garden.

"On the north side lyeth Gray's Close, of three roods, parcel of the demesne of the manor, formerly demised to John Cartwright, gent., which said close is now by his Majesty united to the said tenement and yard, and made all one garden for his Majesty's use.

"The King's Majesty holds freely the tenement and yard, with houses builded by late George Willsmer, gent., lying next the said close on the south, and a garden plot belonging to the Talbot, now builded and used, to the north, abutting east and west as before."

We have here a general outline of the royal property up to the year 1610, but

are still left almost entirely to guess at the various alterations and improvements which must have been made in the original premises, in order to fit them in some degree for the accommodation of the royal occupant. Large sums were undoubtedly expended at the commencement for this purpose, and continued to be laid out at intervals during the whole of the King's reign. We find numerous entries to this effect in the Exchequer Rolls and Warrant Books, varying from year to year in amount. From the year 1603 to 1611 the expenditure appears to have reached the sum of nearly £4,000. Nor are we to imagine that this sum at all represents the total cost, since there is evidence to show that various items of the property mentioned in this survey were either never paid for at all, or certainly not in King James's reign; one striking peculiarity of this monarch's character being the very unscrupulous use he made of his subjects' money.

But this manorial survey includes only a portion of the property ultimately comprised in the royal domain. It does not include, for instance, certain extensive premises afterwards appropriated to the use of the Prince of Wales, nor the estate described in the Survey as the Swan, and at that time in private hands, but subsequently added to the royal property, and used for the house-keeper's residence, for the wardrobe, and for various offices connected with the culinary department. It omits all reference, likewise, to various other properties actually occupied by the King, but never claimed as part of the royal domain, and the connection with which is traced only through incidental proofs in public documents, or more obscure notices in private deeds and memoranda, to some of which it will be our duty to recur before we close this inquiry.

To obtain a more complete view of the entire property as claimed for the Crown at the decease of King Charles I. we must consult the Parliamentary Survey ordered to be made by the Commons in Parliament in the year 1649.

The heading of this document is as follows :—

“ Cantab., &c.

“ A survey of Royston Courte House, with the rights, members, and appurtenances thereof, lyinge and beinge in the towne of Royston, in the county of Cambridge aforesaid, late parcel of the possessions of Charles Stuart and Henrietta Maria, late Kinge and Queene of England, made and taken by us whose names are hereunto subscribed, in the month of December, 1649, by virtue of a commission granted upon an Acte of the Commons assembled in Parliament, for the sale of the honors, manors, and lands heretofore belonging

unto the late Kinge, Queene, and Prince, under the hands and seals of five or more of the trustees in the said Acte named and approved."

To this survey is subscribed the name of the Chief Commissioner, Colonel Wm. Webb. It is accompanied with a memorandum of a claim to a part of the royal property, made on behalf of Lord Pembroke; and by two additional surveys subsequently made respecting that claim. In these several surveys, all that was actually claimed and ascertained to be the property of the Crown, as well as the portion afterwards ascertained to belong to Lord Pembroke, is set out with metes and bounds, with the respective values of each portion, and is finally signed and submitted to the trustees by the other commissioners for Cambridgeshire, under date of the 23rd of June, 1652, as follows: Thomas Fowle, Walter Blythe, John Ward, and examined by Wm. Webb.

The details of these surveys are too voluminous for entire recital. The most important particulars have been introduced, therefore, into a plan, numbered and referred to in the description of the Plate which, with the general remarks to be presently made, will, it is hoped, convey a sufficiently accurate idea of the royal possessions at the termination of the reign of Charles I. In addition to these, however, the plan further exhibits certain other premises already alluded to, as having been undoubtedly occupied by the King on various tenures, but never claimed as the *bond fide* property of the Crown.

To begin with the royal property correctly so called: On reference to the plan, it will be seen that the whole lies between the Armynge Street, now called Kneesworth Street, to the west; the Ickneld Street, now called Melbourn Street, to the south; a field-lane leading to Gatward's premises, since called Dog Kennel Lane, to the east; and a highway, or road, leading from Armynge Street into Chapel Fields, to the north: that it occupied a space of about 3 acres and 1 rood; and that it consisted of many distinct buildings and premises.

On this plan, No. 1 marks the King's chief house or residence, commonly called the King's lodgings. It will be seen to project considerably across the line of the Armynge Street, indicating, probably, a late alteration; but whether of the same date as the Pembroke front which faces the east cannot be now determined. The object of this projection was obviously to command a view of the road to the north and south. The entire residence was double built and of brick. It was two stories high, with gables, lofty tiled roofs and garrets. The chimneys were all carried up in the middle, and the neatness of the workmanship leads to the supposition that it was constructed under the superintendence of Inigo Jones, the Court Architect. The entire residence contained six principal

apartments below with offices, and six principal apartments above. Those above are stated to have been the Presence Chamber, the Bed Chamber, the Privy Chamber, the Stole Room, the Withdrawing Room, and another chamber of service. The Pembroke front or portion of the building looked into a small garden called the King's Privy Garden, which was surrounded with a high wooden paling. The western portion of the house having been long since taken down, we can now only form an imperfect idea of its appearance. But from scattered memoranda in the Exchequer Rolls, and from other sources, we gather that the Presence Chamber was in this part of the house, and probably faced the north; and that the principal window of this apartment, with two smaller windows, were built of stone, the larger one being surmounted with the royal crest or arms. We further find that the roof was painted, and that it was drained by nine leaden spouts reaching from the gutters almost to the ground; that the gutters were sheeted with lead; that there was a lanthorn tower or clock case, and a dial on the top of the house, having a pyramid with six cantered cornices to hang a bell for the clock; and that the interior was wainscoted, with shutters to the windows.

The porter's lodge and the gate-house, which had a chamber over it, No. 14, adjoined the house to the north, and behind it was a small paved court. On the southern side of the court-yard was erected the brick porch which led into the Privy Garden, and from thence to the King's private entrance. The grand entrance was, no doubt, in the court-yard, to the right of the porter's lodge, and from thence two staircases appear to have ascended to the Presence Chamber. From the court-yard, moreover, a path must have crossed the great garden to the buildings erected for the Royal visitors. Of these there were two sets, Nos. 10, 10; the first very early erected by the King on his own ground, the second at a later period by the King's officers on ground belonging to the Swan Estate, to which also was attached a small garden behind, No. 21.

Adjoining the King's house, to the south, stood the old building already mentioned called the Prince's Buttery; to the south of which, and also flush with the street, was the messuage or tenement and buildings formerly called the Greyhound (No. 3), inclosing a quadrangle behind, in which was the Guard Chamber, and other lodgings for the King's officers; and, beyond this again to the south was the Privy Kitchen, with a chamber over it, forming part of the messuage or tenement belonging to Thomas Wilson, but permanently held by the King at an annual rent, No. 24.

Across the great garden, No. 16, a way led to the King's and the Prince's hunting stables and to the stable yard, which was partly inclosed by various

tenements and buildings, Nos. 11, 11. From whence a bridge across a sewer or watercourse led through the Talbot property, Nos. 13, 13, to the dog house and dog yard, Nos. 12, 12; and over this bridge we learn that the King's horses passed daily. The dog house stood at the northern extremity of the King's premises; and the adjoining dog yard, half an acre in extent, was inclosed with a wooden paling. Above the dog house, which was a long building two stories high, there was an apartment for the use of Sir Patrick Hume, who first held the office of Master of the Hounds; and who, no doubt, enjoyed himself greatly in the midst of what the Poet Gray would have called the "comfortable stink" of his canine companions. It is probable that some of the buildings in the stable-yard, and on the Talbot property, were tenanted by the huntsmen, and other inferior attendants. A little beyond the dog house to the north, the Swan Close terminated. At the opposite end, to the south, abutting on the Ickneld Street, stood the messuage or tenement called the Swan, consisting of two long ranges of buildings inclosing a court, with a gateway at either end, in which were the housekeeper's residence, the wardrobe, larders, pantrys, bakehouse, and various other offices for the service of the Royal household, No. 6.

In the close behind, a little to the north of these buildings, stood the Cock-pit, No. 7, which was a round brick building, having a substantial timber and tiled roof. On the western side of the Close, adjoining the visitors' lodgings to the north, were the King's butteries, No. 9; and on the opposite side of the Close were two barns or storehouses, No. 8.

The Prince's lodgings, Nos. 5, 5, consisted of a capital residence, partly built of brick and partly of timber, three stories high, having three rooms below and four above, with a small garden behind, No. 18. The principal front faced the Ickneld Street, and the brickwork was handsomely finished in a similar style to the King's house. Being a corner house, a considerable range of buildings along the Armynge Street adjoined it, making altogether a frontage of 117 feet. These buildings were, no doubt, for the accommodation of the superior officers of the Prince's household; and adjoining them again to the north was another range of inferior buildings, running flush with the Armynge Street, Nos. 4, 4, 80 feet in length, wherein were the lodgings of the waiters; also the pantry, the pastry, and other domestic offices, which extended as far as the King's Privy Kitchen.

We now turn to certain other properties marked on the plan, which were held by the King on lease, or on some inferior tenure. Of these we have already noticed one instance in the Privy Kitchen, forming part of the property of Thomas Wilson. We proceed to No. 26, which was a messuage or tenement, situated in

the Middle Row, abutting east on Armynge Street, and west on Dow or Dead Street, and occupied by the king's equerries, together with certain stables, forming another part of the property of the said Thomas Wilson, who himself appears to have held some appointment connected with the King's hunting establishment. No. 15 marks the premises occupied by the King's coach-houses, with barns, and stables for the horses, together with a small plot of ground opposite the King's house, No. 20, which was probably used as a garden. No. 19 is the site of the King's Paradise, or bowling-green, forming part of an acre of pasture ground. The whole of the foregoing premises appear, from a warrant of the time of Charles I., to have been held on lease from Sir Robert Chester for a term which had nearly expired at the date of the Parliamentary Commission; and, not being in any way noticed by the Commissioners, had probably never been paid for. Apart from these, and on the Hertfordshire side of the town, beyond the church, stood the Priory mansion, at that time a house of considerable dimensions, and occupied by the King's officers as above mentioned, but since demolished, and only partially rebuilt, No. 43.

Certain intervening premises, No. 25, 25, though forming no part of the royal property, must also have been in the Royal occupation. And to these must be added certain paddocks or pastures, No. 23, 23, lying to the east, between the King's property and the road leading to Cambridge, long after known as the King's Pond Close, and the Park, and still exhibiting portions of the ancient park paling, which were no doubt held by his Majesty on some inferior tenure.

A few other premises have been introduced into the plan at Nos. 28, 29, 31—38, 39, 40, 41, 42—to show the position of the royal property in relation to other parts of the town. And although no certain evidence as to particular properties can be now adduced, it is not to be doubted that some of the principal houses in the place were occupied by the chief officers attendant on the King. One of these, marked No. 38, from its vicinity to the King's residence, and its possession of a painted apartment, similar to, but handsomer than, the one still existing in the Pembroke portion of the King's house, may with no great improbability be assigned to the Lord Chamberlain; while another house, known by the name of Whitehall, but now recently demolished, was traditionally supposed to have been the residence of Lord Monteagle, through whose intervention a clue was obtained to the authors of the Gunpowder Plot.

The several portions of this royal domain, as already stated, were not all acquired at the same time. It may be inferred, for instance, with tolerable

certainly, that the Prince's lodgings were not added until after the death of Prince Henry, who had no establishment at Royston; and the year 1615 or 1616 may be assigned as their probable date, when Prince Charles became more closely connected with public affairs.

The Swan, or Three Swans, estate appears to have been acquired through the intervention of the Lord Chamberlain Pembroke, in the year 1621, a period of the King's greatest financial necessity; and a lien was accordingly granted on this property to the Earl for the sum of £500. It was in respect to this estate, and to a portion of the King's own house, rebuilt about the same time at the Earl's expense, that a memorial was presented to the Parliamentary Commissioners, as above recited. In the additional surveys which followed, the Earl's claim is stated to have been to all that part of the King's lodgings that jutteth out on the east part thereof, consisting of three bays of brick building, 50 feet in length by 22 feet in breadth, containing three rooms below and three rooms above, with cock-lofts, and comprising two-fifths of the whole house, with the inclosed garden thereunto adjoining. And the said claim further included the whole of the Swan estate, with the Swan Close, and various buildings erected upon it. Before we take leave of the Parliamentary Surveys, we have yet to add that, in connection with Royston Court House, the King likewise possessed a hare warren at Guilden Morden, a few miles from Royston, containing about 33 acres, with a tenement upon it, which was sold by the Parliamentary Trustees in the year 1650.

As the main objects of King James's residence at Royston were constant equestrian exercise and the recreation of sporting, a description of Royston Court House would scarcely be deemed complete without a few special references to his hunting establishment, and to the rigorous means adopted to ensure the royal gratification. Under this head, it may be observed that no expense was spared to obtain a good supply of horses, hawks, and hounds, with suitable persons to train and manage them. Thus we find that, in 1603, Sir Patrick Hume, already mentioned as occupying the post of Master of the Harriers, was endowed with a salary of £200 per annum, together with the use of four horses and one footman; that three principal huntsmen, James Cockburn, John Achison, and Richard Brass, were placed under him, who were to receive £3 each per month, and £66 13s. 4d. for keeping twenty couple of hounds; and that, under these again, four others were appointed, viz., Richard Barnard, James Coburne, John Wallys, and William Sale, who officiated as huntsmen in liveries; and that Robert Graham held the office of Rider of the King's hunting horses. The first step taken by the King to prevent encroachments upon his favourite amusement was to create a strict preserve of

every species of game, within a circle of fourteen miles in every direction. The open country was kept for hares, rabbits, partridges, dotterel, bustards, plovers, and birds of the like description; the moors, marshes, and ponds were stocked with all sorts of water and wild fowl; and the firm determination of the King to secure all these good things to himself will be best understood from the preamble to the prohibition against sporting within the prescribed limits, which was issued soon after his arrival in the country. "Inasmuch," says the Royal order, "as at our late coming into Royston and the parts thereabout for our recreation we have found our game of partridges and pheasants so decayed that the country thereabouts could yield us no sport in that kind; now, taking the premises into our consideration, and knowing right well that our well-affected subjects, one and all, will be so farre from the spoile and destruction of our game, as they will with all dutifull readiness further the increase thereof, with forbearance of their own delight for our desport, as a speciall means of the preservation of our health; and, therefore, seeing that the said spoile and destruccion have been occasioned out of the insolence of audacious and irregular persons, that so little esteem our lawes and commandments, we resolve for the time to come to withstand and punish such boldness and contempt, and especiallie and particularlie near unto Royston, where we hope hereafter to receive more recreation and delight at our usual residence there." With a further view to the King's safety and pleasure in hunting and hawking, a Royal order was subsequently issued to the constables of certain parishes in the neighbourhood, expressly commanding the occupants of arable lands in those parishes not to plough their lands in narrow ridges, nor suffer swine to go abroad in the fields to root up the earth and make holes, to the endangering of the lives of His Majesty and the Prince when engaged in those favourite sports; and they were further commanded to take down all high bounds between lands which hindered His Majesty's easy passage. Bridges also were to be repaired and roads made good, in order to secure the King's convenience and comfort; and gamekeepers of various degrees and classes were appointed to preserve hares, pheasants, wild-fowl, and other game throughout the district. As the Cock-pit was a place of frequent resort in the intervals of hunting, we may be permitted to add that George Colmer was the King's cock-master, to preside over that sport, and to decide the bets made on such occasions. But, however keen the King's taste for the sports of the field, he had recourse to one method which would not be altogether approved by our modern gentry. It was deemed necessary for the preservation of game to create the office of a vermynter, or vermin-taker, whose duty it was to destroy all *foxes*, *badgers*, wild cats, *otters*,

hedgehogs, and other noisome vermin; and likewise all crows, choughs, *rooks*, *kites*, *buzzards*, scagges, *cormorants*, ospreys, *ravens*, and other ravenous fowl.

In this favourite retreat, far from the political excitement of the metropolis and the interruptions of serious business, King James established himself as a mighty hunter, preferring the pleasures of the chace to the cares of government; and, as some writers affirm, exhibiting more concern for the lives of brute animals than for the safety and comfort of his subjects. The greater part of his time was undoubtedly devoted to these pursuits; yet he could find leisure, when so minded, for pedantic studies and for the pleasures of the table. When absolutely obliged, he turned his attention to affairs of state and the practice of kingcraft; and on special occasions, but sometimes sorely against his will, he entertained princely visitors, or gave audience to unwelcome ambassadors. But he appears to have been never so happy as when surrounded by his minions—lolling on the shoulder of the artful Somerset, or pinching the cheek of his beloved Buckingham; joking with Tom Badger or Tom Monson; drinking abundance of sweet wine; roasting the Pope, the Puritans, and the lawyers; and freely indulging in other amusements which must now be considered as essentially low and cruel.

The incidents of this long sojourn at Royston, however, being for the most part of a merely personal nature, belong rather to biography than to the description of a royal residence. But some events that occurred in this place are so intimately connected with results of general and lasting importance to the country, that we must beg leave shortly to notice them.

Among these we select the following:—

In the year 1603-4, the celebrated petition of the Puritans about Royston, commonly called the Millenary Petition, was presented to King James by a number of gentlemen in the hunting field, and gave occasion to the first exhibition of that ecclesiastical policy which governed his whole reign.

In the same year, the King's dread of popular rights was strikingly evinced by a proclamation from Royston imposing restraints on the enlargement of the Metropolis, and enjoining the gentry to keep at home in the country.

In 1604, the amusing adventure of the dog Jowler brought into prominent notice the extreme hardships of royal pre-emption and purveyorship, an odious prerogative, denounced also by the great Bacon, and subsequently mitigated.

In 1605, a sagacious letter, written by the King from Royston, on the eve of the Gunpowder Plot, has been supposed to have contributed materially towards the discovery and prevention of that horrible project.

In 1609, the King's ire against the lawyers burst forth. He told them, "he

would leave off hunting hares, and hunt them in their quirks and quibbles, with which the subject had been too long abused." The secret of this hostile demonstration, however, was the King's impatience of all restraints upon his Royal prerogative, which he well knew could only be checked by the rules of the Common and Statute Law.

In 1610-11 the King's profusion and extravagance had reduced him to such a condition of necessity, that we find him at Royston, at this date, without the means of defraying the salaries of his guard, of meeting the expenses of his own table, or even of paying the post boys employed in his service, who are represented as "trotting up and down the road," in a state of hopeless destitution, while the King's pertinacity in still refusing the constitutional means of supplying his wants led to expedients of the most ominous tendency towards the future well-being of the monarchy.

In 1611-12, the only recorded visit of the Queen and Prince Henry to Royston took place; and, though not productive of any political results, it is worthy of notice as showing the great dissimilarity of their tastes and habits.

In January 1612-13, an event occurred at Royston of the deepest and most lasting interest to the nation. The Queen herself being averse to the union of her daughter with the Prince Palatine, the King retired to Royston with Lord Rochester in order to negotiate at leisure the preliminaries of marriage between the Princess Elizabeth and the Palgrave, the ancestors of our most gracious Queen. It was here that the King signed the agreement for dower. And after the marriage which was celebrated on St. Valentine's Day 1613, the King, the Prince Palatine, and Prince Charles returned to Royston, preparatory to a visit to the University of Cambridge. The whole nation rejoiced in this match, as being thought likely to establish the Protestant religion on a firmer foundation; and on this auspicious occasion it may be worth remembering, that the Archbishop who officiated pronounced an almost prophetic blessing, in the following words: "The God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob bless these nuptials, and make them prosperous to these kingdoms and to this church."

In October 1615, grave suspicions respecting the murder of Overbury becoming too general to be longer ignored, the King again retired to Royston, and sent for Lord Chief Justice Coke to concert the mode of prosecution; and it was on the staircase at the King's lodging, on Somerset's return to Royston, that the well-known parting scene took place, which alike displayed the gross hypocrisy of the King and the heartless audacity of his guilty favourite.

In 1618, the King, being then at Royston, from the most unworthy motives, signed the death-warrant of that remarkable man Sir Walter Raleigh.

In 1618-19, the King was seized with his first serious illness on his return from Newmarket to Royston, where he remained during the whole of the following Easter, attended by Prince Charles and a large concourse of the highest nobility and chief dignitaries of the church, receiving the most ample proofs of the general loyalty of his subjects; and, according to the clerical historian, comporting himself in a truly devout and edifying manner.

In the latter end of 1621, the King's denial of the privileges of the Commons threatening serious consequences, the King, being at Royston, sent them an explanatory letter, promising in future to recognise their constitutional rights. To the impunity which followed this attempt on the liberties of the country, may probably be traced the obstinacy and ruin of his successor.

In February 1623, in the King's bedchamber at Royston, the royal sanction was most reluctantly granted to Prince Charles's foolish but romantic adventure in Spain; and in the same apartment, in the October following, a most joyous reception was given to "Baby Charles" and the beloved "Steenie" by their "dear Dad and Gossip," on their fortunate escape and return. The Prince's arrival was soon after followed by a visit of congratulation from the University of Cambridge, and also from the Spanish ambassadors, who, on this occasion, paid their respects to the Prince at his own lodgings.

On the 18th December of the same year, the French ambassadors made their more welcome appearance at Royston, and the negotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria of France were then and there concluded and signed.

On the 28th January, 1624-5, King James was at Royston for the last time, and dubbed his last knight, Sir Richard Bettenson. The number of knights made at Royston was very great, and many considerable names appear amongst them. Higher titles were also occasionally conferred. The celebrated Sir Hugh Middleton, the projector of the New River, was here created a baronet in the year 1622—a circumstance the more creditable to the King, as in the month of January immediately preceding he nearly lost his life in that river, having been thrown from his horse when hunting at Theobalds. Among the knights, it may not be superfluous to mention a very facetious gentleman and a magistrate of Cambridgeshire, who was here knighted in 1606-7—Sir John Millicent—who, on being asked "How he did conforme himselfe to the grave justices his brothers

when they met ; ‘ Why, faithe ! ’ says he, ‘ I have no waie but to drinke myself downe to the capacitie of the Benche. ’ ”

The habits and tastes of Charles I. differed in many respects from those of his father. King James’s were essentially those of a bachelor. Charles’s, on the other hand, were those of an attached husband, who never cared to be separated from his wife.

Royston Court House, under the altered circumstances, was no longer a suitable residence for the sovereign, except on special occasions ; and Charles is said, moreover, to have given the preference to Newmarket. Royston Court House was, nevertheless, well kept up during the greater part of King Charles’s reign ; and was visited occasionally by the King, the Queen, and the young Prince Charles, previously to the great rebellion.

It was at Royston, in 1635, that King Charles so ungraciously received the injured deputies from Ireland, and more plainly revealed the desperate courses which, under the advice of Strafford, he had henceforth determined to pursue.

In 1641, immediately before the civil war, King Charles first retreated to Royston, whither the Parliamentary deputies were sent with a remonstrance ; and it was either here, or more probably at Newmarket, to which place the King had in the meanwhile withdrawn, followed by the deputation, that the remarkable scene of complaint and recrimination took place, which closed the door of reconciliation between the parties.

On the 25th June, 1647, the great military conflict being nearly decided, and the head quarters of the Parliament army being then at Royston ; a new contest having now arisen between the army and the Commons, King Charles was brought as a prisoner to his own house, where he remained for two days ; and then took his final leave of Royston.

In the year 1649, shortly after the execution of the King, the Commons passed an Act for the appropriation of the royal property to the public service ; in consequence of which the commission issued into Cambridgeshire, and the surveys and valuations were made as above recited.

The first conveyance of the royal property was made by the Parliamentary trustees to Lewis Audley, Esq., an officer in the Parliament army, by deed of bargain and sale, dated 14th June, 1653, in consideration of the sum of £517 10s. 0d., due, no doubt, to himself and some others, for military services. The property thus conveyed is styled “ that part of Royston House called the King’s lodgings. ” This description is certainly ambiguous, and leaves it some-

what doubtful whether the whole of Lord Pembroke's claim was ultimately allowed; though the probability is that it was so.

The whole of the Royal property, however, including both portions, has since passed through various private hands; and whatever rights the Crown might be presumed to have retained over certain parts of it, have been more recently remitted to purchasers for a sufficient consideration.

It remains only to add, that the Parliamentary surveys contain, beside the descriptions and admeasurements, specific valuations of the several parcels; many of them being at that time in a dilapidated condition, all of them stripped of whatever fixtures and furniture could be carried away, and none of them being of any future value, except as they were capable of being converted to private uses.

It may seem rather strange, however, after so large an expenditure, that the sum total should have been reduced to such insignificant figures as the following:—

The yearly rent of the property as it then stood	£51	0	0	per annum.
The materials of the Court House, together	} £661	0	0	
with all houses and buildings thereunto				
belonging, if pulled down, value in gross				
The sites of the property	-	-	-	£4 10 0 per annum.
From which Lord Pembroke claimed a deduc-	} £15	10	0	per annum.
tion for his share of the property, to the				
amount of				

To these valuations is appended an inventory of a few articles of household furniture which, after all spoliations, still remained at Royston and Newmarket; and which were sold to a Mr. De Critty and others for debts due to them, on the 23rd October, 1651, amounting to £33 10s. 0d.

The only portion of the King's chief residence now remaining is the eastern or Pembroke building, described as jutting into the private garden. The western or larger portion, standing across the street, has been long since removed; not improbably about the year 1703, when the first turnpike road to Caxton (the old North Road) was made, being the earliest but one of the turnpike trusts in the kingdom. The eastern front, being of brick, although it must have undergone occasional renovations, probably presents nearly the same aspect as formerly; and has little to distinguish it from modern houses.

Nothing of interest has been suffered to remain in the interior, except one room on the ground floor, which retains its originally painted wainscot. Many of the buildings on the property have disappeared, including both sets of lodgings for

the visitors; the principal butteries; a large proportion of the buildings on the Swan estate, forming the housekeeper's department; nearly all the hunting and other stables, barns, and granaries; the cock-pit; the porter's lodge and gate-house; and most of the quadrangle, constituting the residence of the Guards. But the front buildings along the line of the Armynge Street, now called Kneesworth Street, being converted into humble dwellings, still remain; and exhibit, with their small casements and quaint over-hanging storeys, the aspect of a time that has long since passed away.

Prince Charles's residence still shows a handsome front in the Ickneld Street, now called Melbourne Street, and is become one of the principal shops in the town; and a portion of the buildings connected with it, standing in the street now called Kneesworth Street, is used as an inn, under the name or sign of the "Crown and Dolphin" (Dauphine).

The contrast between Royston in the age of the Stuarts and Royston of the present day, is somewhat striking. Time was when its narrow streets and unpretending mansions were crowded with the élite of the land. The most courtly nobles, the gayest cavaliers, the most roaring roysterers jostled each other in the public thoroughfares, and filled every house with noise and revelry. A constant stream of visitors, on business or pleasure, flowed in the wake of Royalty. Soldiers and civilians, alike waiters on fortune, mingled with the "merry crew of hunters,"—all worshipped at the same shrine, and all plied their several objects of personal or relative ambition. The town, we are told, was on great occasions so thronged, that room was not to be procured for love or money; and many among the visitors were fain to seek a meaner accommodation in the neighbouring villages. Royston, in short, had become in that day a spot to which the eyes of the greatest potentates in Europe were not unfrequently turned; and, beyond all other of the royal residences, it seems to have been regarded as the never-failing fountain of knightly honours.

But the advantages of this world must always be attended with drawbacks, and tradition adds that, in consequence of all this external prosperity, Royston, beneath the smiles of Royal favour, had become no less remarkable for vice and profanity.

Great evils, however, often work out their own cures. A nearer view and a painful experience of the immoralities and oppressions of a corrupt and despotic Court, had, during these reigns, sown in the breasts of many the seeds of much disaffection and disloyalty. And Royston, during the great rebellion, numbered among its inhabitants many of the Cromwellian party; and, towards the close of

the struggle, became one of the head quarters of the Parliament army. But a severer moral was yet to follow, when monarchy for a time suffered a fatal eclipse, and the property of the Crown became the prey of the people who had fought most strenuously against it.

It is but justice to add, that, although the scene of these stirring events is now nothing more than a quiet country town, there is none in the kingdom more distinguished at the present time for its loyalty to a constitutional sovereign, and its attachment to civil and religious liberty.

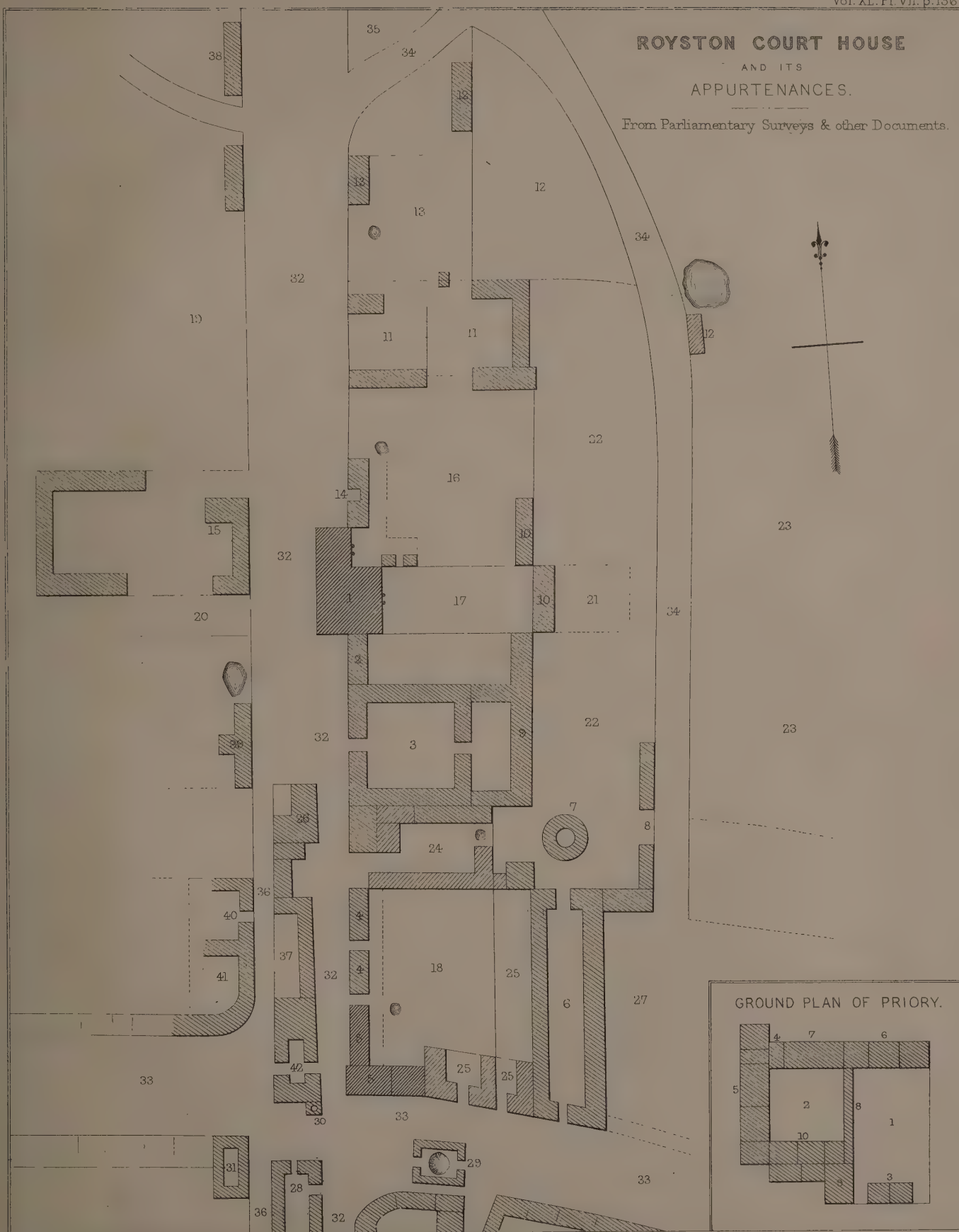
REFERENCES TO PLATE VII.

1. The King's house, double built, 78 feet long, 43 feet wide, 24 feet high to the eaves. The eastern part now remaining, being 50 feet long by 22 feet wide, was claimed by Lord Pembroke after the death of Charles I.
2. The Prince's or old buttery, 40 feet long by 15 feet wide.
3. The King's guard-house, &c., two stories high. A court 96 feet square.
4. Prince Charles's pantry, waiting offices, &c., two stories high; timber, &c.; 80 feet frontage.
5. Prince Charles's lodgings, 117 feet frontage by 18 feet width, partly brick, partly timber and plaster, three stories high, in principal part, with three rooms below and four above.
6. The King's Wardrobe and residence of the housekeeper, &c. A court 182 feet long by 55 feet wide, formerly the Swan Inn; timber and plaster.
7. The Cock-pit, 30 feet diameter, 17 feet high; brick and tile.
8. The Swan barns or store-houses.
9. The King's Butteries. The exact length cannot be determined; long since removed.
10. The new chambers for visitors; that on the Swan ground 51 feet long by 20 feet wide; that on the King's ground, to the north, 54 feet long by 20 feet wide; three rooms above and three below, with cocklofts.
11. The stables for hunting horses, stable yard, and other buildings. The exact position of some of these cannot be certainly fixed; there were two tenements 60 feet long by 15 feet wide, now standing; stables and granary, &c., measuring altogether about 125 feet.
12. The dog-house and a stable, 60 feet long, still standing; two stories high; above was an apartment for the master of the hounds; on the opposite side of the lane (No. 12) was probably the boiling-house, with the King's pond adjoining; and next the dog-house was the dog-yard, inclosed with a pale, containing half an acre of ground.
13. Tenements for servants, and ground formerly Talbot garden.
14. The porter's lodge and gate-house.
15. The King's and Princes coach-houses, barns, &c. Stables for coach-horses, granaries, &c. But, the buildings having for the most part been removed, their exact dimensions and position can only be guessed at.
16. The great garden, containing about 3 roods.

ROYSTON COURT HOUSE

AND ITS
APPURTENANCES.

From Parliamentary Surveys & other Documents.



16. The great garden, containing about 3 roods.
17. The King's privy garden, containing about one rood; a pale 7 feet high and about 260 feet in compass, inclosed for the King's private use.
18. Prince Charles's garden, containing about $1\frac{1}{2}$ rood.
19. The King's paradise or bowling-green.
20. A small garden (query if the King's?).
21. Small garden attached to the new chambers. [No. 10.]
22. The Swan close and back grounds.
23. The old pasture with park paling; a portion of it still called the park; and King's pond close.
24. Wilson's estate and King's privy kitchen.
25. Property to which the cave is attached; the back premises appear to have formed part of Prince Charles's garden; also Izzard's house and garden.
26. Residence of the King's equerries, with stables in Wilson's yard.
27. Gatward's estate.
28. The old Taberd or Talbot Inn.
29. Site of the Butter-market, and the Cave beneath.
30. Site of the old Cross.
31. The Hospital of Saint John and Saint James of Jerusalem.
32. Armynge Street, also called Stilton Street, and towards the north end Huntington Way or York Way; now called, to the north of the junction with Icknield Street, Kneesworth Street, and to the south of the junction, High Street, leading towards London.
33. Icknield Street, to the west now called Baldock Street, and to the east Melbourn Street, leading to Cambridge.
34. Field Lane, leading from Gatward's into Chapel fields, now called Dog-kennel Lane. Also a highway forming north boundary of Royal property.
35. Common fields, called Chapel Fields; an ancient burying-ground.
36. Dead Street or Dow Street, now called Back Street.
37. Formerly called Middle Row.
38. House of the same date as the King's house, and containing one room similarly decorated; owner not certainly known, but probably Lord Pembroke.
39. Turner's Estate.
40. The Angel Inn.
41. Stapleton's property.
42. The Old Crown Inn; a portion of the Prince's property opposite to this, now called the Crown and Dolphin.
43. The Priory Mansion, temp. Elizabeth, since demolished and partly rebuilt. Length from north to south about 120 feet, from east to west about 150 feet. The principal apartments were upstairs:
 1. Outer Court.
 2. Inner Court.
 3. Porter's Lodge.
 4. Private entry.
 5. Apartments west.
 6. Apartments north.
 7. Apartments over cellars.
 8. Long passage.
 9. Kitchen.
 10. Larders, &c.

XI.—*On the Annulus Piscatoris, or Ring of the Fisherman:*
by EDMUND WATERTON, Esq., F.S.A.

Read March 7th, 1859.

To keep up the remembrance of the poor Fisherman of Galilee the Roman Pontiffs adopted the custom of sealing their private letters with a signet-ring which bore the device of St. Peter seated in a boat and drawing a net from the waters.

Piscator quod Stemma sacrum sit, Roma, tuorum
Pontificum, primi sic statuere Patres.
Denotet innumeros populos quod piscibus æquor;
Sed rete et navis, signa laboris erunt.^a

From bearing this device it was called the *Annulus Piscatoris*, or Ring of the Fisherman.

Mabillon says that no precise information can be obtained as to the exact period when this signet-ring was first adopted, from want of documentary evidence.^b

Bongratia, quoted by Heineccius, says it is believed that St. Peter made use of the Fisherman's Ring; but Heineccius contemptuously adds, "Who, I ask, believes so but Bongratia and his like?"^c

The first mention of it occurs in a letter of Clement IV. (Foucauld) addressed in 1265 to his nephew Peter Grossi of St. Gilles, in which that pontiff says—

"Saluta Matrem et Fratres; non scribimus tibi neque familiaribus nostris sub Bullâ, sed sub *Piscatoris Sigillo* quo Romani Pontifices in suis secretis utuntur."^d

Hence it may be inferred that the Popes had already, and for some time past, used this device as a seal, but only for their private letters.

^a D. Bonomi, quoted by Boldetti, p. 506.

^b De Re Dipl. ii. c. 14, § 11.

^c De Sigillis, p. 29.

^d Platina de Vitis Pont. in Vita Clem. IV.

Martin V., elected in 1417, issued three briefs, all *sub annulo Piscatoris*, one to a bishop whose name is not given, another to the Archbishop of Gnesen, and a third to Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini, dated the 17th of July, 1426.

Eugenius IV., successor to Martin, wrote several letters, *sub annulo nostro secreto*, from Rome, Florence, Bologna, and Ferrara, which are given in the Bullarium.

The Abate Gaetano Cenni wrote a treatise, "De annulo Piscatoris," which was published after his death.^a He mentions a deed of confirmation by Nicholas V. belonging to the town of Todi. This document had two pendant seals, one in red wax with the impression of the Fisherman's Ring; the other with an eagle, the armorial bearings of Todi. It is dated at Rome, September 24th, 1448, and is subscribed as follows:—

Ego Petrus de Noxeto Sanctiss. D. N. secretarius de mandato Suæ Sanctitatis supradictas petitiones, ut moris est, signavi manu propria, et manu præfati D. N. subscriptas *Annulo suo secreto* signavi.

This document shows that the use of the Ring as a secretum was continued down to the Pontificate of Nicholas V. He also, however, used it for briefs.^b Mabillon says that he has seen many briefs issued in the fifteenth century with the seal of the Fisherman attached to them, such as those of Calixtus III. and Paul II. In the Vatican there exist two briefs of Calixtus III. given *sub annulo Piscatoris*, one to the Count of Fondi, dated February 1, 1457,^c the other to Giacomo della Marca, his nuncio, dated October 25, 1457.^d Pius II. wrote a letter to Charles VII. of France on the 24th October, 1458, and another to the Archbishop of Genoa, 31st January, 1463, both *sub annulo Piscatoris*.

Leo X. issued a brief to Charles King of Spain, dated Florence, February 25th, 1516; and also several other briefs from 1513 to 1521, to Henry VIII. of England, to Cardinal Wolsey, to Peter Priscus Guglielmucci, bishop of Laval, and others, all of which were given *sub annulo Piscatoris*.^e

These examples are sufficient to show that after the reign of Callixtus III. the Ring of the Fisherman was no longer used as the private seal of the Popes, but was now always attached to briefs. The impression of the Ring of the Fisherman is on the outside of the brief, and surrounded by a bit of twisted vellum.

^a Dissertazioni d' Istoria Pontificia e Canonica. Pistoja.—Tom. i. p. 146.

^b Brief dated 15 April, 1448. *Annuaire de la Société de l'Histoire de France*.

^c De Re Dipl. ii. c. 14, § 11. *Ad Ann.* 1457, No. 46.

^d Ap. Bolland. in tom. iii. Apr. p. 520, in processu de Sanctitate B. Jacobi.

^e Lazeri, *Miscell. Bib. Coll. Rom.* 1784, i. p. 365, 371, 372, 374, 406, 424, &c.



SEAL OF CLEMENT VIII.

The annexed woodcut, from a brief in my possession, will show how the seal is affixed. It was issued by Clement VIII. "*apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die V. Januarii MDXCVIII. Pontificatus nostri anno sexto.*"

Innocent VIII., who reduced the College of Apostolic Secretaries to twenty-four,^a instituted a domestic secretary for the extension of briefs to Kings, Princes, Republics, Cities, absent Cardinals, Bishops, and other magnates, in the name of the Roman Pontiff.^b And Innocent XI. still further reduced it from twenty-four to two, one of whom is called the Secretary of Briefs Apostolic. He issues all the briefs and diplomas which are given under the Ring of

the Fisherman. The other is styled the Secretary of Briefs *ad Reges et Principes*, and these letters are all sealed with the armorial bearings of the Holy Father. The same seal is also used for the other private pontifical correspondence prepared by the prelate called the Secretary of the Latin Letters.

When the Pope dies, and his death is announced, the Cardinal Camerlengo, vested in purple, goes to the palace to "make the recognition," as it is called, accompanied by the Clerics of the Chamber. As soon as the Notary of the Chamber has read the deed of recognition of the dead Pontiff, he receives the Ring of the Fisherman from the Magister ab Admissionibus, or Grand Chamberlain, and on his knees consigns it in a purse or bag to the Cardinal Camerlengo. At the first general assembly of the Cardinals, which is held in the Stanza dei Paramenti, the Cardinal Camerlengo delivers the Ring to the first master of ceremonies, who breaks it, together with the seal of lead (*i.e.* the dies for stamping the bulla), which is given up by the Presidente del Piombo.

The custom of breaking the Ring of the Fisherman and the other papal seals at the death of the Pope is of considerable antiquity.^c Ciaconio is of opinion that, most probably, it was first introduced at the death of Leo X., in 1521.

Cornelio Firmano, in his description of the Novendials of Pius IV., says "that a congregation was held in the Hall of the Consistory, at which twenty-nine cardinals were present, and after other business the Ring of the Fisherman was broken by the *Fratres Plumbatores*, and being thus broken was shown by me to all the cardinals; and then the leaden seals were broken by the same *Fratres*

^a Gualterutii, Ven. Coll. Sec. Apos. Privilegia et Jura. Romæ, fol. 1583.

^b Notitia Cardinalatus. Romæ, 1653, de Secr. Apost. c. xxii. p. 216.

^c See Cancellieri, "Notizie sopra l'Origine e l'Uso dell' Anello Piscatorio," &c. Rome, 1823, who quotes for the notices that follow, "Atti Ceremoniali del P. Gio. Battista Gattico," p. 448-463.

Plumbatores.” And Francesco Mucanzio, one of the Fratres Plumbatores, describing the funeral of Gregory XIII. says, “that the dies of the bulla, and the Ring of the Fisherman, and two other seals with the arms of the deceased Pontiff, were broken, all of which the Most Reverend Cardinal Camerlengo had, with the exception of the Ring of the Fisherman, which remained to us, in its broken condition, according to custom.” It is stated in Gattico that a similar ceremonial was observed at the death of Urban VIII. From these entries it appears that the ring and seals were broken by the Fratres Plumbatores; but from the following account it might be inferred that the Fratres Plumbatores were also masters of ceremonies, for Paul Alaleona says, that at the obsequies of Gregory XIV. “*fractus fuit annulus Piscatoris a me, et ostensus singulis Cardinalibus; quem nos magistri caeremoniarum habuimus juxta solitam, inveteratam, et immemorabilem consuetudinem.*”

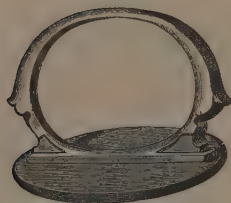
Fulvio Servanzio mentions that, at the death of Innocent X., the name was cut away or erased, on the ring, which he calls a seal, and which then became the perquisite of the Master of Ceremonies.^a

This custom was observed until the death of Pius VI., who died at Valence. At his exequies the usual ceremonies were not observed, and the Ring of the Fisherman was not broken; the name only was cancelled, so that it might serve for the new Pontiff. In 1809, when Pius VII. was carried off a prisoner by the French, he was forcibly deprived of the Ring of the Fisherman by General Radet; but before giving it up the Holy Father caused it to be cut down the middle. Monsignor de Gregorio went in the name of his sovereign to ask for it back again, but the General refused to restore it; whereupon the Pope had an iron seal made, with the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul; and above them was his name, PIVS . PAPA . VII; and below PRO . ANNULO . PISCATORIO. Many briefs were issued under this seal. The Ring of the Fisherman was carried away to Paris, where it remained till the Restoration, when Louis XVIII. gave it back to Monsignor di Gregorio, who came to ask for it in the name of the Sovereign Pontiff. But, as it was cut down the centre, a new one was made.

It is most probable that until the revival of the art of gem-engraving the Ring of the Fisherman was entirely of gold. The impression of the ring on the brief of Clement VIII., in my possession, appears to be from a stone rather

^a “Duo clerici cameræ ad plumbum deputati Eminentissimo Decano pro Sacro Collegio recipienti præsentarunt genuflexi sigillum in quo insculptum erat nomen Innocentii X. et decesserunt. Sumpsit sigillum D. Phœbeus et omnibus Cardinalibus singulatim ostendit, et sumpto malleo et scalpro cum parva incudine quæ conservabatur in camerâ contiguâ delevit et cassavit ab eo nomen supradictum, et sic deletum et cassatum coram omnibus Cardinalibus singulatim ostendit et retinuit apud se.”—Servantius.

than a metal surface; and hence I think it may with reason be concluded, that, during the sixteenth century, the Ring of the Fisherman was set with a stone. And as the new ring has to be taken into the Conclave to be in readiness for the election, and as gem-engraving is somewhat a tedious process, it is not improbable that the Pontifical engraver in ordinary would have a Ring of the



RING OF THE FISHERMAN
OF PIUS IX.

Fisherman always in stock, with a vacant space for the name. A ring which answers this description is in my collection. The setting is of the sixteenth century; the size is about that of the ring of Clement VIII., and on the blood-stone on which the subject is engraved there is a vacant space left for the name. Of the history of this ring I know nothing, and I can only account for its existence on the supposition that it may have been mislaid or purloined.

The Ring of the Fisherman belonging to the reigning Sovereign Pontiff I have frequently seen. It is of plain gold, weighing one ounce and a half. The plate is oval, and bears a very shallow representation of the subject, and has the appearance of being cast and then chiselled.

(See woodcuts.)

Signor Borgognoni, the jeweller who made this ring, told me it was prepared from the gold which composed the Ring of the Fisherman of Gregory XVI. The Ring of the Fisherman is now always in the custody of the Magister ab Admissionibus, or Grand Chamberlain, and is itself never used; but in the office of the Secretary of Briefs an iron stamping-die is employed in its stead, and briefs have now the seal of the Ring of the Fisherman in ink, as shown by an original brief of the present Pontiff in my possession.

The Annulus Piscatoris may be called the Papal Ring of Investiture. It is taken into the Conclave with the space for the name left blank, and as soon as a successful scrutiny of votes has been arrived at, the newly elected pontiff is declared and conducted to the throne, when, before the cardinals render homage to their sovereign, the Cardinal Camerlengo approaches, and placing the Ring of the Fisherman on the finger of the Pope, asks his Holiness what name he will take. The sovereign Pontiff replies, and, taking off the ring, gives it to the first Master of Ceremonies to have engraved on it the name he has assumed. The announcement of the election is then made to the people from the balcony of the Quirinal Palace, in these words: "*Annuntio vobis gaudium magnum, Habemus Pontificem* (e.g.) *Eminentissimum et Reverendissimum Cardinalem JOSEPHUM MASTAI FERRETTI qui nomen PII NONI Sibi imposuit.*"

XII.—*On the unpublished work entitled “Antiquarius” by Hieronymus Bononius, of Treviso, and his Poetical Remains; including a Poem on the Revivors of Literature in the Fifteenth Century who were personally known to that Author.* By WILLIAM HENRY BLACK, Esq., F.S.A.

Read June 11th, 1863.

ALTHOUGH literary history is less prominently an object of this learned Society, and has less claim for discussion at its meetings than other branches of antiquarian knowledge, yet I may expect to be indulged with your special attention this evening, while I lay before you a long-lost work of one of the Revivors of Literature in the fifteenth century, and that the autograph and unique copy of a production, entitled *Antiquarius*, or “Two books of *The Antiquary*.”

Its author was HIERONYMUS BONONIUS, of Treviso, a city of great antiquity, and of some distinction, in that part of the modern Venetia which the ancients called *Istria*. His name is little known: but he is mentioned by the two chronological historians of literature, Saxius and Eyring; by the former, in 1780,^a as “a jurisconsult, an archæologist, and a writer of poems;” by the latter, in 1783,^b as “a jurisconsult, a poet, and an antiquary.” They both place him in or after the year 1500, and agree (excepting an obviously misprinted figure^c in Saxius) in placing the dates of his birth and death in the years 1444 and 1517. Saxius refers to Vossius on the Latin Historians; but Vossius tells us^d no more than that he had learnt, from letters of Balthasar Bonifacius to Dominicus Molinus, that at the same time as another author, of whom he was treating, “there flourished, and extended his life to the year 1520, Hieronymus Bononius, an excellent poet; who, beside many other literary productions, which he called

^a Chr. Saxii Onomasticon Literarium, tom. iii. (Traj. ad Rhen. 1780, 8vo.) pp. 7, 577.

^b Jer. Nic. Eyring, Synopsis Hist. Lit. (Gottingæ, 1783, 4to.) p. 638.

^c “1544,” for 1444.

^d G. J. Vossius de Hist. Lat. (Lugd. Bat. 1627, 4to.) pp. 839—840; (ibid. 1651, 4to.) p. 812.

Promiscua, wrote a Life of Saint Jerome, both in prose and in verse." It would have been more to the purpose of his own work, if Vossius had mentioned his "Book of the Antiquary:" this, however unknown to Vossius, is mentioned by both the afore-quoted authors, apparently on the authority of the *Giornale de' Litterati*; and what they say is as follows:—"He wrote also," says Saxius, "on the origin, territory, and illustrious men of Treviso; also a work inscribed *Antiquarius*, wherein he collected and explained inscriptions; but which I think yet lies hidden *in scriniis*," that is, in private repositories.^a Eyring also mentions these as two distinct works, though it will appear, in the course of this paper, that they were perhaps but one; and of the *Antiquarius* he says, (but with little accuracy), "in which are explained inscriptions collected in a journey."

It was my good fortune to find this long-hidden treasure in 1851, when I bought it (among other MSS.) of Mr. John Russell Smith, now of Soho Square. It is a small folio volume, fairly written in a Roman or Italian hand of the latter part of the fifteenth century, preserved in a most genuine state, with its original binding of stamped leather. There is nothing in the book itself whereby its own history can be traced, except a cutting from a modern Bookseller's Catalogue, (apparently the late Mr. Rodd's,) pasted within the cover. I have since ascertained somewhat of its earlier history; but proceed now to describe its contents, intending afterward to resume some account of the author, and to lay before the Society such scattered notices of him as I have been able to find.

The work begins with a poetical address, "*Ad Lectorem*," consisting of five elegiac couplets, and commending its design; then follows the title, thus:—"Hieronymi Bononij Tarvisini Libellus Antiquarij Primus, ad Julium Filium," "The first book of the Antiquary of HIERONYMUS BONONIUS, of Treviso, to JULIUS his Son;" to whom he commends the subject of the work, by assuring him that, among the many uncommon enjoyments possessed by civilised and educated persons, none is greater, or more peculiar, than "to search out the remains of things ancient and far from our own memory, and to contemplate their image with the whole mind." Hence he commends history, in the language of "the fount of eloquence" (Cicero), and adds that "so pleasant is antiquity, that they who studiously and truly pursue it attain the full height of humanity; not only of that humanity which we call erudition and instruction in good arts, but also a dexterity and a benevolence toward all men, excited by the examples of the ancients to live well and gloriously, and to reflect their likeness to posterity.

^a Onom. Lit. iii. 577.

They venerate ancient books, statues, coins, and stones; and the more of them that they possess, the richer they think themselves." The author describes himself as a true antiquary when he says of himself, that "nothing had more delighted him, from his youth, than to search out most curiously all ancient things; and, if he unexpectedly found any monument of good antiquity, he kept it most carefully above other treasures." Herein he tells his son that he followed the example of the most eminent men of old times, as Cicero, Pliny, and other classic authors. He speaks of the abundance of coins found in Italy, which were daily cast up by ploughmen, especially in the country about Treviso, in the neighbourhood of Aquileia and Concordia, and in Rome itself, where there seemed to be "a perpetual vein of gold, silver, and brass." Then he treats of inscribed stones, which were so numerous that if his son would copy all the inscriptions of Italy he "might make an immense volume." This task had been attempted by many, whose books were handed about, but were full of errors. Of the destruction of such monuments he bitterly complains, not only as perpetrated by the old barbarian invaders, but also by masons, who cut them up for modern buildings, where stones might be seen with the letters inverted or else half buried. He gives to his work the name of "The Antiquary," because (he says) it contains inscriptions transcribed by himself from ancient stones, especially in the Tarvisan region and its neighbourhood, where in his younger days he copied everything of the sort that he could find; and he assures the reader that the specimens thereof contained in the present book most faithfully represented the originals which he had seen with his own eyes, excepting some few inscriptions which had been sent to him by learned friends; hence his book might be relied upon as most religiously expressing the forms of writing, and therefore truly instructive to the studious. A long preface of eight pages concludes with an elegiac epigram of five couplets, as before, briefly recounting the substance of what had been said in prose.

The author proceeds to distinguish five different classes of inscriptions, and gives short extracts from some of those at Rome, by way of example. His classes are these:—First, Inscriptions in honour of the Gods, and of human benefactors. Second, Those in memory of the building or restoration of public works; Third, Those in memory of remarkable actions. Fourth, Those promulgating public edicts; and Fifth, Those in memory of the dead. Here he breaks out into poetry; he quotes a long passage from Silius Italicus, where Scipio is represented as addressing Appius Claudius; and adds an elegy of his own in twelve couplets, on the ruin of Rome by the Goths, which he had composed

when a young man, while acting as secretary to Laurentius, Patriarch of Antioch, in the time of Pope Sixtus IV. (1471—1484.)

The author's intention was to treat chiefly of the antiquities of Treviso; yet this, he says, he could do but feebly, being *homo forensis, atque occupatus*, (a lawyer, in much practice); and therefore wished that some more elegant writer should treat on that subject, though none could outgo him in love of his country. The naming of his native city *Tarvisium* leads him to discuss its orthography, which had been by some mis-written *Tervisium*, by others *Trivisium*, and by others *Taurisium*, relying on faulty copies of Pliny's Natural History,^a whereas the author says he had examined at least four ancient MSS. of Pliny, one of which came from the library of Prince Malatesta, and was in the possession of Laurence Patriarch of Antioch, and another was possessed by Francis Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua. Both these MSS. proved that the name should be written TARVISIUM; and this was confirmed by the public records, wherein the region was always called TARVISANA, and so was styled in the public letters of the Doges of Venice, when they appointed a new Governor.

Six pages are then occupied with historical and topographical notices of Treviso, and its rivers Plavis and Silis, in relation to which he incorporates an epigram, in seven couplets, out of the sixth book of his own "*Promiscua*."^b He also takes the opportunity of correcting the text of Pliny, by proposing to read *fontibus*, on the authority of accurate MSS., in the passage commonly read "*a montibus Tarvisanis*."^c He also proceeds to say that it was his intention to record some notices of "illustrious men" of that region: and he treats, by name, of Totilas, or Baduila, Governor of Treviso, who was elected King of the Goths; of Felix, Bishop of Treviso; of Hadrianus, who saved Aspalatum from the Pannonians; of Ecelinus, or Azolenus, the Tyrant; of Nicolaus, son of Buccasius the Notary, afterward Pope Benedict XI. and canonized; and, lastly, of Antenor Actionius, whom he describes as "*ex meorum advocariorum majoribus*," and as having delivered the Paduians from Canis, Duke of Verona. He then concludes this introductory part of his work by mentioning the free submission of his native city to the Senate of Venice,^d in consequence of the oppressions which it had suffered

^a Plinii Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. 18, "De Istria;" where the Venetian edition of 1487 reads, with our author, *Tarvisani*.

^b MS. fol. 106.

^c Plinii N. H. lib. iii. c. 17, "Venetia, decima regio;" where the early edition, quoted in the foregoing note, reads "*Fluvius Silis ex montibus Taurisanis*."

^d In 1388: see Schotti Itin. Italiæ (1655, 12mo.) p. 35. But Bonifaccio, the historian of Treviso, places that event in 1389. (Istoria, Ven. 1744, 4to. p. 442.)

from various governors; and adds four lines, on that subject, from the first book of his own Elegy, called "Candidæ," as follows:—

Nam, loca cum diris premerentur multa tyrannis,
Justitia et sævo sub pede pressa foret;
Sponte patrocinium Veneti petiere Senatûs,
Quo duce tranquilla pace fruuntur adhuc.^a

The remainder of the first book is occupied with copies of inscriptions, each followed by an ample commentary, explaining the initials and abbreviated words, the grammatical peculiarities, and the points of historical antiquity occurring in them. They are, first, from TREVISO and its neighbourhood, as follows:—

"Ad plateam Sancti Andreae," in Treviso: one inscription, f. 12.

"Veronæ;" three from Verona, to illustrate the foregoing, f. 12*b*.

"In turri Russinonia," at or near Treviso, f. 15. This is the imperfect but interesting inscription, beginning abruptly *honorem decurionatus*, which is printed in Gruter's great Collection of inscriptions,^b on the authority of Burchelatus and Scultetus, and in Bishop Fleetwood's *Sylloge*, p. 178.

"Ad fontem olivæ," at or near Treviso, f. 17*b*. This also is printed by Gruter, as "Tarvisii, ad *pontem olivium*, in domo Serravallia," and from Burchelatus.^c

The next is described as "columnella elegantissima," or from "a most elegant little column, which I, Hieronymus, have at home, and diligently keep in honour of venerable antiquity," f. 18*b*. It begins SILVANO AUG., and has been printed by Gruter, as "from Burchelatus," with a heading in which our author is mentioned as follows: "Tarvisii, in pulcerrima columna quam domi habet suæ Hier. Bononius."^d From a different work of Burchelatus, which was published after Gruter's collection, and which I shall hereinafter quote, it appears that this very column was in his own possession at Treviso, in 1616.^e

The two next were also possessed by our author; the first of them from what he calls "Lapis egregius in domo mea," ff. 20*b*, 21*a*. Both are printed in Gruter's Collection,^f as from Burchelatus; and the latter is described as "At Treviso, in the house of Hieronymus Bononius, the poet."

"Valij in villa Valeriorum," f. 21.

"In Monasterio Pyri," two inscriptions, ff. 21*b*, 22*a*.

^a MS. fol. 12.

^b Gruteri Inscriptiones Antiquæ, p. cccxciv. n. 4.

^c Ib. p. dcccxxiv. n. 5.

^d Ib. p. lxiv. n. 2.

^e Commentariorum, p. 499.

^f Inscr. Ant. pp. dcccclxxix. 10, et dcccxx. 2.

"In Vico Querquano," (f. 22a), an inscription erected by G. Rapidus Rufus, which the author had mentioned "in epigrammate quodam ad Aurelium," (meaning his friend Joannes Aurelius Augurellus, the poet^a), from which he quotes four lines.

The author then says that there was at Moriacum, near Treviso, the monument of C. Herennius Rhetoricus, whom he supposed to be the contemporary of Cicero, but no more than the name could be read; and that in *Vico Spinetico* he remembered to have seen an inscription of one Statius; also some broken inscriptions in the buildings of the aforementioned monastery; but they had been taken away to Padua "by the contrivance of some antiquary."

"Now to OPITERGIUM," says the author, "as belonging to our parts, let us pass." He briefly treats of the history and antiquities of the formerly populous town of Oderzo, and gives three inscriptions from it, ff. 23b—24b.

Next he gives a comparatively modern inscription, that of Francisca, daughter of Petrarch the poet, from the church of St. Francis in Treviso, consisting of five elegiac couplets, as follows:—

Tusca parente pio, sed facta Ligustica dulci
 Conjuge, jam proles plurima clara fuit.
 Nulla magis seu fida viro, seu subdita patri,
 Seu magis externæ nescia lætitiæ.
 Nomen erat Francisca meum, studium sed honestas;
 Dos mea simplicitas, et sine labe pudor.
 Me mea sors varie puerili vexit in ævo:
 Hic immota quies, hic mihi certa domus.
 Jam matrona quidem: sed, adhuc florentibus annis,
 Eripior terræ, restitutorque polo. (F. 24b, 25.)

He dates her death in 1384 on the authority of a prose inscription in the same place, and says that her husband, Franciscus Brossalrus of Milan, was mentioned in Petrarch's will (of which he had obtained a copy from Padua), and was an officer having the charge of issuing passports, "an office odious enough," says our author, and since abolished.

He says that in the churchyard of the Hermits was a sumptuous marble chest, wherein was intombed Peter the son of the poet Dante. The inscription was in Leonine verses, and was deemed too "ridiculous" to be transferred to his pages. It was however printed in the curious work of Burchelatus, in 1616.^b

^a His full name is given at f. 61, in stating an opinion of his. See also a commendation of him and his works at f. 62b.

^b Commentariorum, p. 375.

Then he proceeds to notice the epitaph of Nicolaus Guarinus of Verona, son of the celebrated Italian scholar, which Nicolaus was buried in St. Michael's church at Treviso, but lay without a monument until his brother Baptista was excited by our author to erect one; and his letter to our author on this business is incorporated in the work. It is an elegant Latin epistle, dated at Ferrara, 12 cal. Dec. 1494, and is followed by a copy of the verses written by the surviving brother, and inscribed on his grave accordingly. They consist of four elegiac couplets.^a This interesting little episode is rendered complete by reference to the very affecting poem which our author had addressed to Baptista Guarinus, and which is fortunately preserved in the poetical MS. hereafter mentioned, and exhibited to the Society.

AQUILEIA now receives attention from our author; and after some notices of its historical antiquities, and its literary fame by reason of its connection with the literary names of Rufinus and Hieronymus, he extols the character of a recent worthy, ecclesiastically connected with that place, namely, the celebrated philologist and critic Hermolaus Barbarus, Patriarch of Aquileia, in whose praise he incorporates into his pages an "epigram" or rather eulogium, consisting of eight elegiac couplets, the first of which is—

Contigit Hermoleos, merito divinus honore,
Antistes sedi, prisca Aquileia, tuæ.

The date of his creation as Patriarch is said to have been 1491, and his untimely death is placed in the year 1493.^b He died of the plague at Rome in his thirtieth year.^c

Aquileia and its region furnished no fewer than twenty-one inscriptions for our author's work, ff. 27—35*b*, with which, and his usual comments thereon, he fills up his first book. He concludes it with two sets of elegiac verses or epigrams, commending to posterity the monuments contained in his work, and expressing the pleasure that he felt in antiquarian studies, even in his old age.

"The second book of the Antiquary" (*Antiquarii libellus secundus*, f. 36*b*) begins by assenting to the request of his son Julius, that he would give at full-length, and with like explanations, the inscriptions referred to, or briefly quoted, by way of illustration only, in the former book. This he does accordingly; and he transcribes them in the following order:—

^a MS. ff. 25*a*, 25*b*. See a notice of their publication in the latter part of this paper.

^b Saxius, ii. 506-7; et Eyring, p. 606.

^c Vossius de Hist. Lat.; and Pope Blount, p. 343, who also quotes Bossard for the date "1494."

First, from ROME, he gives a short inscription "from an arch near the Amphitheatre now called the Colosseum;" "from the Vatican Obelisk;" "from an arch near the *Porta Tibertina*; from one below the Capitoline Hill, and from another near the church of St. George; from the Capitol; from the front of the round church of St. Mary; from the Aqueduct near the Lateran Hospital; from the *Porta Major*; from the Capitol again; from the *Pons Insulæ*; from the Capitol, a third time; from an arch near the Colosseum; from *Interamna*; from the great brazen tablet in the basilica of the Lateran, beginning *Fædus ut cum quibus volet facere liceat*, (read thus: *Fædusve cum*, &c. in Gruter's Collection^a); from the chapel in the house of the Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, being an edict by Turcius Apronianus, regulating the sale of flesh-meat;^b near St. Mark's church; from the chapel of St. Michael a large monument, beginning *Atimetus Pamphili Ti. Cæsaris Aug. LL.*, and containing six Greek verses;^c and lastly, the monumental inscription of the poet Claudianus, which, in the introduction of his work, was said to have been lately found in the Forum of Trajan.^d

The next is a short votive inscription to Minerva, the locality of which is omitted by our author; but it appears, from a copy differing only in two letters, printed in Gruter's Collection,^e on the authority of Apianus and Sarayna, to have existed at VERONA, in the churchyard of St. Peter.

PADUA then furnishes three inscriptions at f. 59; two more at f. 64*b*; two more at f. 67; and one at f. 68.

BELLUNO affords two inscriptions at f. 60, one of which is partly in Greek.

BRESCIA gives one inscription, quoted by way of illustration of the last foregoing, at f. 60*b*; and five others at ff. 64, 65, 67*b*.

VICENZA gives one at f. 61.

OTRICOLI, an ancient town on the Tiber, yields one, at f. 61*b*.

PESARO yields one, at f. 62.

TUDER, or TUDERTUM (Todi), an ancient place in Umbria, gives a curious inscription at f. 63.

FELTRE affords one at f. 63*b*.

A very singular monumental inscription to Caia Tibulla, at f. 65*b*, was found "Haud procul CAMERINO." To illustrate which the author appends one that he

^a MS. ff. 50*b*-51. Gruter. p. cexlii.

^b MS. f. 52*b*-53.

^c Gruter. p. devii. n. 4, from Smetius.

^d MS. ff. 2 *b*. 57*b*-58. Gruter. p. cccxci. n. 5, from Smetius.

^e MS. f. 58*b*. Gruter. p. lxxx. n. 7.

had received from Tortellius, both of them containing the F turned to the left-hand.

PIACENZA is the source of two inscriptions, at ff. 66, 67.

VERONA again affords a short one at f. 68; and with this the text of his work concludes.

There then follows an epigram relating to Treviso, in seven hexameters, headed "De Tarvisio, HIER. BON. TAR." (f. 68*b*), which was evidently written at a later time. The next page contains a brief retrospect of the work, in prose; wherein he says that he possessed many other inscriptions, but omitted them here lest this work should be tedious. Then follows a kind of epilogue, in twenty-three iambic verses, headed "Felix operis editio:" whence it may be conjectured that he intended this MS. (fairly written though it is, as if not intended for the printer) to be published to the world by means of the press, by his son, to whom the verses are addressed.

That the work was not written before 1494 is evident from the letters of that date from Baptista Guarinus, which it contains; but further, it appears that the MS. was written while Aldus Manutius Romanus was printing Greek and Latin books at Venice, which he did from that very year 1494, until his death in 1515 or 1516.^a A shorter period of ten years, within which the work was written, appears from the mention of Julianus, Cardinal of St. Peter ad Vincula, "*nunc*, divina providentia, sub nomine JULII SECUNDI pontificatum tenente:" for Julius II. was Pope from November 1503 to February 1513.^b But the closest date is found in the year "1506," which occurs in an incidental and very pathetic mention of the death of his only and beloved daughter Livia, who died in her nineteenth year in childbirth, being the wife of Franciscus Blandineus, 11 cal. Jan. (= 22 Dec.) 1506,^c where also he refers to his own poetical complaint upon that event, contained in the tenth book of his *Promiscua*, the poems mentioned by those literary historians who have recorded notices of our author. There are also some "Addenda et Corrigenda" at ff. 70-72, written at different times, and in a much altered hand: but what is most remarkable in them is a note extracted from the margin of a copy of Pliny, written by Thomas de Prata, of Treviso, relative to an earthquake which happened there on 7 cal. Apr. (= 26 Mar.) 1511, which has been printed by Burchelatus.^d Hence it is evident that the work was completed a considerable time before 1511, and therefore probably in 1507.

^a MS. f. 53*b*. Maittaire, i. 233, 328, 329. Orlandi, p. 56. Saxius, ii. 514.

^b L'Art de verifier les Dates; and other Chronologies.

^c MS. f. 60.

^d Commentariorum, p. 636.

The work is written in elegant Latinity, and in a light and florid style; it is replete with classical quotations and other authorities of Roman antiquity or criticism. Some of the writer's contemporaries are quoted, especially Valla and Pomponius Lætus; from the latter of whom a letter is quoted at f. 54; as also are letters from Parthenius Benacensis and Urbanus Bellunensis, at ff. 26. and 61. It is, however, peculiarly interesting, on account of the personal anecdotes relating to himself and his friends with which this work is interspersed. In addition to those already noticed, it may be observed that he names his own brother Bernardinus, at f. 58*b*, and twice speaks of an official journey that he had made with the Patriarch of Antioch in the year 1475, and of the friends that he then visited, ff. 63, 66. Indeed it made so great an impression on his mind that in his old age he calls it his "happy juvenile peregrination."

The other MS. now exhibited to the Society is fairly written by the same hand, but evidently some years earlier, and consists of two fragments or portions of the great collection of his own poems, which we have found him quoting under the general title of *Promiscua*. These fragments are in larger folio, and respectively signed *c* and *d*. They were mere loose papers when I bought them with the former MS., and, though sixteen leaves only, yet they contain a considerable number of Latin poems, and among them some that are peculiarly interesting and valuable, as will appear by the following description.

The first portion contains the following pieces of Latin poetry:—(1) A poem in praise of the author's pleasant country house, called "Nervisiana villula," consisting of 187 hexameter verses. (2) An epistolary poem addressed "To Baptista Guarinus, son of the great Guarinus, a most eminent rhetorician," in 93 hexameters: this piece is mentioned in the author's *Antiquary*, where he gives a copy of that person's prose epistle to him on the occasion, dated 1494, and his own epitaph on his brother Nicolaus, which have been already mentioned. (3) Epigram upon the distinction between two relatives, each bearing the same name. (4) On five Kings of Naples reigning within three years, 22 verses. (5) On Zenobia's continence, 21 verses. (6) On Apelles, from Lucian, 18 verses. (7) Three forms of stating Pliny's proportion of the human figure, in Latin verse. (8) The author's principal poem, intitled "Quot viros, in re litteraria illustres, viderit." It consists of 205 hexameter verses, and contains characteristic and laudatory notices of many of his contemporaries, who were concerned in the revival of classic learning. Those mentioned by name are, Theodorus Gaza,

Johannes Argyropylus, Georgius Trapezuntius, Marcus Musurus, Johannes Andreas, Franciscus Philelphus, Cardinal N. Perottus, Joh. Ant. Campanus, Pomponius Lætus, Paulus Marsus, "Cyllenius," Bartholomæus "Platyna," Laurentius Zana, Demetrius Chalcondylas, Hermolaus Barbarus, Hieron. Donatus, Nicolaus Leonicus, Cardinal Petrus Bembus, "Aurelius" (that is, the author's fellow-poet Jo. Aur. Augurellus), "Callimachus" (or Phil. Bonacursius), M. Ant. Sabellicus, Georgius Merula, Philippus Beroaldus, Joh. Jov. Pontanus, Angelus Politianus, Marsilius Ficinus, Titus Strozza, and Matthæus Bossus. Some of these are mentioned and quoted in the author's *Antiquary* as his friends and contemporaries: here, in his old age, he laments that he had not obtained marble or metal busts of these and other literary worthies of his time, and therefore, in conclusion, erects to their memory "these statues" in verse. (9) Epigram on "Rhenerius heros." (10) Epitaph on Joannes Mocenicus, Doge of Venice. (11, 12) Two translations of the *Vaticinium* of Marcus Musurus, about the revival of Venetian power; in eleven verses and five elegiac couplets.

The second portion contains only three poems, of which (1) the longest comes first, and is entitled "Sylva Baduaria," 210 hexameter verses, in praise of Baduarius, a Venetian ambassador about to go to Spain for aid against the Turks, against whom the poet imagines all the western nations arising in concert to repel their common enemy. Among others he thus mentions our own nation—

Pontifici statuit socios se jungere Summo,
Regibus Hispano cœuntibus atque Britanno.

It is followed by (2) an epilogue in six elegiac couplets. Lastly, there is (3) a poem entitled "Maximillianus pacatus," written on occasion of the cessation of the Emperor's hostilities against Venice; it extends to the length of 83 hexameter verses, beside ten others substituted for six cancelled lines in the first page of the poem, at the suggestion of the author's friends. In this poem the King of England is mentioned as joining with the Spanish King in favour of the Venetians, and two well-known lines of Virgil are accommodated to describe our Henry, thus:—

Et quanquam toto divisus ab orbe Britannus,
Qui tamen est nobis conjunctus amore fidæque,
Dives opum, dives pictæ vestis, et auri;
Ut canit ERASMI facundia tersa disert.

Pope Julius II. being also mentioned in the context, it seems that the event celebrated by the poet was the peace of 1514, and not that of 1489.^a Hence,

^a Bonifaccio, pp. 482, 521.

especially as the rest of the leaf is vacant, this may perhaps be considered the concluding poem of the author's "Promiscua."

The principal notices of this author, and of his writings, which I have been able to find, are contained in that most curious work of his fellow-countryman Bartholomæus Burchelatus, a physician of Treviso, published there in 1616, in quarto, and containing all the then extant monumental inscriptions of the city, with literary, historical, and genealogical notes relative to it and its inhabitants, under the title of "Commentariorum Memorabilium Multiplicis Hystoriae Tarvisinae." That curious author describes our Hieronymus Bononius as "Forensis homo, poeta primi nominis Latina lingua, et scriptor operum indefessus ac defæcatus;" says that he died "before the year 1520," and composed very many things, the principal of which were,—an Oration and Verses, published with the Trevisan edition of Pliny's Natural History, in 1479; one book of Observations on Orthography and Metre; the praises of his "pagus Nervisianus," (the autograph of which poem has been already described and produced to you); a poem prefixed to the Trevisan edition of Eusebius, *De præparatione Evangelica*;^a several other poems, of which brief titles are given; four books of love poems, intitled *Candidæ*; "Antiquarii Tarvisani libri duo," being evidently the work of which the original MS. is now produced; a treatise to prove that the tragedies, and moral, philosophical, and rhetorical writings extant, under the name of Seneca, belong to one and the same author; a life of Saint Jerome, in prose, with poems to the extent of four hundred hexameters, beside elegiac verses; and beside all these, says Burchelatus, he wrote "Twenty-two books of poetical *Promiscua*, a great work indeed, but not a little defective, through neglect and mice, not to mention the fault of his sons, so that I scarcely dared at my leisure to make up the pages in any order." For so I understand his words, "*ut vix ausim, dum vacet, illud quoquo modo compaginare*;"^b and this interpretation agrees with the loose state in which I found the leaves of those portions of these very *Promiscua* which I now lay before the Society.

The same writer adds, in testimony of the esteem in which the poet was holden by his contemporaries, some Latin iambics addressed to him by Aurelius Augurellus, who is mentioned in the principal poem that I have described, and a notice of whose sudden death in his eighty-third year, and of his tomb at Treviso, with a copy of the characteristic epitaph upon it, is contained in the work of Burchelatus,^c

^a Printed, as also the above-mentioned edition of Pliny, by Michael Manzolinus, 1480, fol. (Orlandi, *Origine e progressi della stampa*, Bonon. 1722, 4to. pp. 118, 800.)

^b *Commentariorum*, p. 56.

^c *Ibid.* pp. 406-7.

followed by the monumental inscriptions there which relate to our author, the poet and antiquary, himself.^a Of these I will transcribe one—the first; it is said to have been on a remarkable marble near the steps of the *Capella Sovernica*, in the cathedral church of St. Peter, in Treviso:—

HIERONYMVS BONONIVS
SIBI VIVVS STRVXIT SEPVLCVRVM
TEMERE NEC QVIDEM, CVM SIT INCERTVS
HORÆ, CERTVS ATTAMEN MORTIS.
QVICVMQ. SEMEL NATVS HVC MIGRAT TANDEM.
HVC INTERVNTOR POSTERI, VOLENT QVIVIS.
MDXVII.

The next is a poetic epitaph, by our author, for himself, beginning, “*Lector, ut, ecce, vides, condenda Hieronymus ossa, Jussi egomet vivens hæc mea sarcophago,*” &c., with three other couplets. The third inscription is an elegiac epitaph on our author’s brother Thadæus, in five couplets. The fourth is from the church of St. Francis, before the altar of St. Louis, in memory of the poet’s son Octavius Bononius, who died 1st Dec. 1572, aged 70 years; only three lines in prose; followed by two lines relating to another Octavius Bononius, who was buried 9 cal. Mar. 1616, aged 43 years, apparently added by Burchelatus himself, as it calls him “*levir meus.*” Lastly, there is the epitaph on Nicolaus Guarinus, mentioned before as contained in the *Antiquarius*; it was found by Burchelatus in the middle of the church of St. Michael, on a “noble marble,” subscribed thus, “*Curante Hieronymo Bononio.*”^b

In a further part of the Commentaries of Burchelatus, among the ancient inscriptions with which he concludes the second book, is one which had been incorporated into the *Antiquarius* of Bononius, from a marble column in his own possession, beginning *SILVANO AVG.*, as already mentioned. The editor says that it was “on a most beautiful little column, a century before in the possession of Hieronymus Bononius, a famous poet and most studious of antiquities; whereof also he compiled two books of *The Antiquary*, which we hold most dear. Having afterward wandered through many habitations, at length being sold by the heir of a doctor to a stone-cutter, as a mere stone, when I knew, I reclaimed it by giving marbles and bricks more than enough; and I hold it very dear at my house, together with that marble vessel of the same Bononius, *my wife’s great-grandfather*, which at that time contained a laurel.”^c

^a Commentariorum, pp. 407-8.

^b Ibid. p. 408.

^c Ibid. p. 499.

In the fourth book Burchelatus quotes a passage from the *Antiquarius Tarvisanus* of Bononius, on the origin of Treviso, and refers to his own "fourth book of Epitaphs, published thirty years before;"^a and there are some other scattered passages relating to him.

I shall conclude this Paper by quoting a notice of our author contained in the History of Treviso, written in 1591, by Giovanni Bonifaccio, who was, therefore, a contemporary of Burchelatus, having been born in 1547, and died in 1635. He therefore lived in a time when the memory of our author was fresh in the minds of his fellow-citizens; yet it is remarkable, that, though he had this advantage, and wanted neither ability nor disposition to give an accurate statement of facts, neither he nor Burchelatus was able to give the exact date of the Poet's death, doubtless, by reason that the monumental inscriptions to his memory were (as we have seen) set up in his life-time. Bonifaccio first mentions him, under the year 1501, among the friends of the *purgatissimo poeta lirico*, Giovanni Aurelio Augurello; and shortly afterward he bestows a like title on our author himself, in the following passage:—"Nella qual città (Trivigi) fiorì nell' istesso tempo GIROLAMO BOLOGNA Trivigiano, uomo chiaro nelle buone lettere, curioso negli studj dell' antichità, e purgatissimo poeta: della qual famiglia sono stati anche poeti onorati, Giovanni e Bernardino, suoi fratelli. Visse Girolamo sotto il pontificato di Sisto IV. un tempo in Roma Secretario di Lorenzo Patriarca d'Antiochia; l'opere del quale degnissime di luce, se fuori delle tenebre ove ora stanno appresso i suoi eredi fossero tolte, e palesate al mondo, si vederebbe come egli superò molti della sua età, e s'uguagliò ad alcuni migliori degli antichi."^a With such commendations as these from learned Italians, it seems that the *Antiquarius* and the surviving poems of so eminent a revivor of literature ought no longer to remain in the obscurity in which they have so long rested that they were supposed to be utterly lost to posterity. Should my learned Associates agree with me in this opinion, I might be encouraged to publish them to the world.

^a Commentariorum, p. 560-1. Compare the MS. f. 8b.

^b Giovanni Bonifaccio, Istoria di Trivigi (Venezia, 1744, 4to.) p. 489.

XIII.—*On the Churches at Rome earlier than the year 1150.* By ALEXANDER NESBITT, Esq., F.S.A.

Read December 15th, 1864, and January 12th, 1865.

It will doubtless be generally admitted that the ecclesiastical buildings of the earlier centuries of the Christian era merit careful study, as well from the investigator into the history and antiquities of the Christian Church, as from the architectural antiquary. The style and ornamentation of the church and the baptistery must necessarily reflect something of the tone of feeling towards religious matters which prevailed at the time of their erection, whilst the form of the structure, and even more those fittings and arrangements by which it was adapted to ritual purposes, must obviously have been planned and modified in accordance with the views of the age as regarded liturgical and ritual observances, ecclesiastical discipline, and even articles of faith. To the architectural antiquary, on the other hand, these buildings are interesting as enabling him to study the decline of Roman art, and as links in the great chain of architectural progress.

In buildings erected before the year 1000 for purposes connected with Christian worship, Rome, the metropolis of Western Christianity, the centre of civilization, and the seat of empire, is, as might be expected, unquestionably richer than any other city, although Ravenna and Constantinople possess examples which remain in a far less altered condition than any of which Rome can boast; and, though many examples of the highest interest are to be found as well in other cities of Italy as in the East, the series is everywhere far from being as complete as it is in Rome. Even after so many centuries of vicissitudes of every kind, Rome retains a series of churches—in many cases of ample proportions and of great magnificence—the original construction of one or more of which may be ascribed to almost every half-century between A.D. 300 and A.D. 1000; a series extending through a period the architectural history of which is almost a blank in Western Europe. The value of this series of churches in an historical point of view is much enhanced by the circumstance that we possess, in the *Liber Pontificalis*

(or *Historia de Vitis Romanorum Pontificum*) of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, an extraordinary amount of information as to the original foundations, additions to, repairs, or reconstructions of these buildings. Although this writer lived in the ninth century, he certainly wrote from trustworthy materials when describing what occurred before his own time, and I have been struck by the accuracy of his statements whenever I have had an opportunity of testing them.^a If we can succeed in identifying the existing remains with the buildings the dates of which we learn from this or from other sources, we shall obviously not only obtain information as to the progress of architecture at Rome, but also data of much value in estimating the contemporary condition of architecture in this and other countries where the series of examples is much less complete and the history of the existing buildings more obscure.

Had the Roman churches come down to our times unaltered, there would have been but little difficulty in assigning to each its proper date; but such is very far from being the case; re-constructions more or less complete, repairs, alterations, and decorations have gone far to obliterate all characteristic features; at first sight it is not easy to see much difference between a church of the fifth and one of the ninth century, and on a cursory examination, a church attributed to the fourth century will be found to have the appearance of belonging to the sixteenth or seventeenth. This absence of distinctive character, though due in most cases to the repeated "restorations" which these buildings have undergone, and to the coats of stucco and whitewash which in general conceal the original work both externally and internally, arises also from two other causes which are worth considering: first, that the plan continued to be substantially the same until and even long after the year 1000, the basilican form having been almost invariably adopted, excepting in the few circular or octagonal buildings; second, the worked stones have seldom been designed for the places which they occupy; the shafts of the columns, the capitals and bases, the architraves, and the doorways are almost always fragments removed from the temples, the palaces, or the tombs of earlier times; while the walls and arches are constructed of those flat bricks which have been for the last 2,000 years, and still are, the chief building material of Rome.

^a For instance, he tells us that Paschal I. rebuilt the church of S. Prassede "in alium non longè demutans locum;" and a part of the wall of the apses of the old church has been recently found not many yards from that of the present.

The bronze doors erected by Pope Hilarus in the baptistery of the Lateran were, he says, "argento clusas;" one pair still exists, and shows the sockets from which the silver has been extracted.

The parts which were original, and therefore exhibited distinctive peculiarities, for instance, the windows, the arrangements for ritual purposes, and the decorations of the walls, have almost entirely disappeared, the chief exceptions being the mosaics of the triumphal arches and apses, an important series of which still exists. For the most part, therefore, what we find are but columns and architraves torn from ancient buildings, and plain rough walls of brick, the mere skeleton, in fact, of the building, stripped of all that gave it life and expression. When the architectural antiquary first visits these churches he cannot but feel much disappointment at the apparent hopelessness of learning much from them; it is only by frequent visits that he discovers a fragment here and another there, which, when brought into connexion, enable him to trace the history, and to restore in imagination the original aspect, of the edifice.

Two residences at Rome, each of several months, have given me opportunities of making repeated examinations of almost all the churches which preserve anything of ancient character, and I now propose to lay before the Society what I have been able to observe.

In doing this it is not my intention to enter into detailed descriptions of each church; this has already been done with more or less accuracy for almost every remarkable one; besides the special histories of individual churches, there are the '*Vetera Monimenta*' of Ciampini; the '*Richerche sopra l'Architettura piu propria dei tempi primitivi Cristiani*' of Canina; the '*Beschreibung von Rom*' by Bunsen, Platner, and others; '*Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms*' by Bunsen, with plates by Gutensohn and Knapp; '*Die Alt-Christlichen Kirchen*' by Hübsch; as well as other works.

To these works I must refer those who are desirous of obtaining a complete knowledge of these buildings. My observations must be looked upon as subsidiary to them, and as treating less of the main shell of the building than of the ornamental parts and of the fittings, such as choir-inclosures, altars, &c., which adapted it for ritual purposes. These I shall propose to consider under separate heads, noticing the general form and plan only so far as may be requisite in order to make what I have to say intelligible.

Before entering upon the consideration of the different parts, taken separately, it will, however, be desirable to prefix a few words upon the general history of ecclesiastical architecture in Rome, and of the divisions of which the existing buildings are susceptible.

One striking peculiarity presents itself in the history of Roman church architecture, viz., that in the long period of eight centuries and a half between

A.D. 300 and A.D. 1150, one type as well of plan as of style prevailed. This typical plan consisted of a court or *atrium* surrounded by porticos, a nave with two or four aisles, a transept, and an apse. The nave is divided from the aisles by ranges of columns or piers, on which rest either arches or architraves, the innermost range carrying the walls of the clerestory. The space between the arches and the clerestory windows is sometimes occupied by a gallery, but more usually such is not the case. The transept sometimes projects beyond the walls of the aisles, sometimes not, and is often absent, particularly in the lesser churches. The apse is almost invariably semi-circular, and covered by a semi-dome. The roofs of the nave and transept are almost always of wood, those of the aisles usually vaulted.

The style is a modification of the later Roman, treated with extreme plainness so far as structural or sculptural ornament is concerned; the exteriors of the churches present nothing but perfectly plain brick walls pierced by round-headed windows, while in the interiors all the ornament is superficial except the columns and architraves, which almost always are fragments taken from earlier buildings. Throughout the whole period mosaic was used, sometimes as an external, but more commonly as an internal, decoration, and particularly on the semi-dome of the apse.

When however the buildings of the period in question are closely examined, it will be seen that grounds exist for dividing them into two series, one of those built between 300 and 750, the other of those built between 750 and 1150.

In the first series, the earlier examples show a consistent and regular style, carried out with good work and good materials, and though parts, such as columns, may have been taken from older buildings, the capitals and bases are either those properly belonging to them or new ones executed with tolerable correctness, the whole colonnade consisting of columns of the same order, and of nearly the same size. In the later examples the masonry is worse, the columns, architraves, &c., less carefully selected, blocks are found placed on the capitals, and other unclassical devices adopted. Throughout this period however the ornamentation is copied from classical models. The windows are always very large as well as numerous.

In the churches of the second series a still greater deterioration is to be found both in the masonry and in the choice of the columns and other antique fragments; these are often most barbarously and incongruously put together—Ionic columns are found alternating with Corinthian, a Corinthian base with an Ionic capital, and a shaft much too small for either, and the like. Piers are often

found breaking the rows of columns. The ornamentation when original is usually of knot and strapwork patterns, much like those employed by our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. The windows are much fewer and smaller, and in the twelfth century are long and narrow, not exceeding in size those of English or French churches of the same date.

No considerable church is known to have been built *de novo* between the building of S. Clemente about the year 1100 and that of S. Maria sopra Minerva in 1272; the first of these is a basilican, the second a pointed Gothic church. Several restorations are attributed to the intervening period, but the work in them is extremely plain, and shows little or no attempt at any novelty of style. Examples of the Romanesque style are in fact almost entirely wanting in Rome, unless the campaniles or bell-towers may be considered as such; most of these would appear to date from the eleventh or twelfth centuries, some perhaps being rather earlier. The most remarkable works of the twelfth century, erected within a few years of its close, are the fine and well-known cloisters of S. Giovanni Laterano and S. Paolo fuor le Mura, both in a style closely approaching that of the Italian Gothic of the thirteenth century.

In the following list I have endeavoured to comprise all the churches still existing, or accurately known by the drawings or descriptions made before their demolition, which present any notable traces of ancient character; many others exist which retain nothing of early date except a few columns, but these it would have been useless to insert. The dates given are derived in some cases from inscriptions, but in most from chronicles or from documents. Although it is not my intention to treat of the buildings erected after 1150, I have brought down the list to 1450, the period of the revival of classical architecture, as I shall sometimes have occasion to refer to buildings of the medieval period by way of comparison.

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|---------------|--|
| A.D. | |
| 328. | Torre Pignatarra, or Sepulchre of S. Helena. |
| 326—337. | S. Costanza, or Baptistery of S. Agnese. |
| ,, | S. Pietro, the Basilica Vaticana. |
| ,, | S. Giovanni Laterano, the Basilica Constantiniana. |
| ,, | S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the Basilica Sessoriana. |
| ,, | S. Agnese (Titulus Equitii). |
| 386. | S. Paolo fuor le Mura, commenced. |
| 400 (before). | S. Pudenziana. |
| 400 (about). | SS. Giovanni e Paolo (Titulus Pammachii). |

A.D.

425. S. Sabina.
 432. S. Maria Maggiore.
 432—440. S. Lorenzo in Lucina.
 432—446. S. Giovanni in Fonte, Baptistry of the Lateran.
 442. S. Pietro in Vincoli, (transept remains).
 461—467. Chapels of S. John Baptist and S. John Evangelist, annexed to the preceding.
 467—483. S. Stefano Rotondo.
 470. S. Bibiana, dedicated.
 468—483. S. Agata in Suburra.
 492. S. Clemente, mentioned.
 498—514. S. Alessandro (Cimiterium Jordanorum).
 „ S. Pancrazio.
 „ S. Martino ai Monti.
 „ S. Agnese, restored.
 526—530. SS. Cosmo e Damiano.
 578—590. S. Lorenzo f. l. m. (in Agro Verano) the present choir.
 590—604. S. Balbina, dedicated.
 619—625. S. Adriano.
 625—638. S. Agnese, rebuilt or restored.
 „ SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.
 „ SS. Quattro Coronati, built.
 640—642. Chapel of S. Venanzio, annexed to S. Giovanni in Fonte.
 682—683. S. Giorgio in Velabro.
 715—731. S. Crisogono, restored.
 772—795. S. Maria in Cosmedin.
 „ S. Giovanni in Porta Latina.
 „ SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, burnt and rebuilt.
 „ S. Marco, restored.
 „ S. Croce in Gerusalemme, altered and restored.
 800—816. SS. Nereo ed Achileo.
 800—816. S. Michele in Sassia.
 817—824. S. Prassede, rebuilt.
 „ S. Cecilia, rebuilt.
 „ S. Maria in Domenica.
 827—844. S. Martino ai Monti, rebuilt.

- A.D.
- 847—855. S. Maria Nuova (now S. Francesca Romana).
- „ SS. Quattro Coronati, rebuilt or remodelled.
- 904—911. S. Giovanni Laterano, rebuilt.
- 1000 (about). S. Adalberto (S. Bartolomeo all' Isola).
- 1099—1118. S. Clemente, rebuilt ?
1100. SS. Quattro Coronati, restored, pavement ?
1123. S. Maria in Cosmedin, restored, pavement laid.
- „ S. Crisogono.
- 1140 (about). S. Silvestro in Portico, chapel at SS. Quattro Coronati.
- 1130—1143. S. Maria in Trastevere, restored, (apse built).
1145. S. Croce in Gerusalemme, restored.
1155. SS. Giovanni e Paolo, restored or rebuilt.
- 1187—1191. Cloister of S. Lorenzo f. l. m.
1190. S. Giovanni in Porta Latina, reconsecrated.
1193. Cloister of S. Paolo f. l. m., commenced, finished 1241.
- 1198—1216. S. Maria in Trastevere, reconsecrated.
- 1200 (about). Doorway of the Hospital of S. Thomas on the Cælian.
- 1200 (about). Cloister of S. Giovanni Laterano.
1205. S. Saba, restored.
- 1217—1221. Portico, S. Lorenzo f. l. m.
- „ Portico, SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, restored or rebuilt.
1259. Doorway, S. Antonio Abbate.
1272. S. Maria sopra Minerva, built.
- 1277—1280. Chapel of S. Lorenzo, in the Lateran Palace (Sanctum Sanctorum).
1285. Baldachino of the altar, S. Paolo f. l. m.
1291. S. Giovanni Laterano, apse, windows, &c.
1348. Windows, cornices, &c., S. Maria in Araceli.
1367. Baldachino of high altar, S. Giovanni Laterano.
1450. Commencement of the building of the new St. Peter's.

The observations which I have to make respecting details may be classed under the following seventeen heads, the first ten of which concern parts of the building, the remaining seven those accessories which are affixed to it :—

The first are—

1. Plan and structure.
2. Construction and material.
3. Pavements.
4. Decoration of walls and roofs.
5. Columns, arches, and architraves.
6. Cornices.
7. Roofs and vaults.
8. Doorways and doors.
9. Windows.
10. Confessions.

The second—

11. Fountains, canthari, wells, and baths.
12. Fonts.
13. Presbyteria or chori cantorum and other inclosures.
14. Ambones.
15. Altars and ciboria.
16. Cathedræ, or episcopal chairs, and seats for the clergy.
17. Tombs.

1. PLAN AND STRUCTURE.

The early Roman ecclesiastical buildings may be divided into three classes—

- 1st. Basilicas.
- 2nd. Memorial churches and baptisteries.
- 3rd. Oratories or chapels.

The plans of the first two of these follow in each case a well-marked type from which they are derived; in the third, the plans cannot be referred to any one type, but appear to have been determined by accidental circumstances.

During the period from 300 to 750, the typical plan of a basilica which I have already mentioned seems to have been closely followed whenever circumstances admitted of its adoption in full. S. Peter's exhibited this plan in its complete form, as S. Paolo fuor le Mura continues (though almost wholly rebuilt) to do, with the exception that the atrium no longer exists.

This plan closely corresponds with the descriptions given by Eusebius^a of the basilicas built at Tyre by Paulinus between the years 313 and 322, and at Jerusalem by Constantine^b in the year 335; the only parts of which we find no trace in the Roman churches are, the wall of inclosure (περίβολος) with its porch or gateway (πρόπυλον), and the external buildings and halls (ἐξέδραι and οἶκοι), which at Tyre were attached to the church and destined to the use of the unbaptised. These last Bunsen^c believes to have been attached to and entered from the transept. Hübsch^d in his conjectural restoration places them along the aisles, with entrances from the latter. The Roman basilican churches of the first

^a Hist. Eccl. lib. x. cap. 4.

^c Bunsen, Basiliken, p. 31.

^b De Vita Const. lib. iii. cap. 37.

^d Hübsch, Alt-Christlichen Kirchen, pl. xxxi. fig. 3.

period which deviate from this plan and require notice are: S. Croce in Gerusalemme, S. Balbina, S. Stefano in Via Latina, SS. Cosmo e Damiano.

S. Croce in Gerusalemme is believed to have been constructed by Constantine out of a hall forming part of a building called the Sessorium, but has undergone repeated and extensive alterations. The plan is a parallelogram, the sides of which are formed by two vast walls of brick of the best quality and construction. The front faces the north-west, and the other end is formed by two chapels, which inclose the apse. Double aisles have at some later period been built outside the walls, and piers inclosing monolithic shafts divide the space within the walls into a nave and aisles, and support clerestory walls. A space in front of the apse is left free so as to form a transept, and is raised three steps above the rest of the floor.

The apse is much wider in proportion to the whole space within the walls than is usually found in basilicas with aisles, the proportion being ten to fourteen, or rather more than two to three, while the usual proportion is less than one to two. The piers as now placed make the nave much narrower than the apse, an arrangement I believe not found elsewhere except at SS. Quattro Coronati, where it is certainly not original. The side-walls are pierced by five openings on each side, of which that in the middle is the widest; these openings are covered by segmental arches, and the oblong masses of wall which divide them were coated with thin plates of marble of two or perhaps more colours. Various opinions have been expressed as regards the original arrangement of this church. Ciampini^a considers that these arches were originally left open to the external air. Canina^b makes no suggestion on this point, but supposes that the columns which remain in the interior originally carried architraves and galleries; while Kügler^c believes that the massive side-walls are remains of the ancient Sessorium, that the openings were windows reaching to the ground, and that the apse was added, and the colonnades with the walls they support constructed, when it was first converted into a church.

Some churches of the same date, however, shew analogous arrangements, which may perhaps serve to throw some light upon the original plan of this church. I have already adverted to the *exedrai* and *oikoi*, which at Tyre were annexed to the church and entered from it; buildings of a like kind may have once been

^a Ciampini, *De Sacris Aedificiis*, p. 122.

^b Canina, *Ricerche sopra l'Architettura piu propria dei tempi primitivi Cristiani*.

^c Kügler, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, vol. i. p. 376.

attached to the sides of S. Croce. The use of piers instead of columns to divide the nave from the aisles was an architectural expedient not without example in the age of Constantine, for Eusebius, when describing the basilica built at Jerusalem by that Emperor in connexion with the Holy Sepulchre, mentions highly decorated piers in the interior; and it is possible that such was the original arrangement in the present case, and that the space within the existing walls was left undivided.

The ruins of an apparently contemporaneous church at Pergamus, which strikingly resemble S. Croce in several points, seem to shew that uncovered galleries or balconies were sometimes employed; in this instance the places where beams were inserted in order to support the floors of galleries are to be seen in the walls, but no trace remains of the manner in which the fronts of the galleries were supported; marble columns may have been used, or the whole construction may have been of wood, a material, as I shall hereafter have occasion to shew, of very frequent use in the earliest ages of church architecture.

In another point there is a resemblance between the plans of the church at Pergamus and of S. Croce, which is in the chapels,^a which inclose the apse and give a rectangular termination to the plan. This arrangement is not now to be found in any other early Roman church, but it appears to have been a very common one elsewhere at a very early period, and particularly in Africa and in Asia Minor. It is found in the ruins of the basilica of Reparatus discovered at Castellum Tingitanum (now Orleansville) in Algeria,^b which appear to date from the year 252, in the ruins at Pergamus, and at Ephesus, in those at Deyr Abu-Faneh near Hermopolis Magna, at Hermouthis (Erment), and elsewhere in Egypt, and at Ibrihm, in Nubia;^c most or all of which seem to be of very early date. The chapels at S. Croce have been entirely modernized, but probably preserve their original plan, a parallelogram with the longer side at a right angle to that of the nave; the central part of the chapel on the right is covered by a cupola, while the chapel on the left is vaulted. The cupola is, I believe, the primitive arrangement.

The next church which I have to mention, that of S. Balbina, resembles S. Croce in that the side-walls are pierced by a series of arches, in this instance six in number. Gutensohn and Knapp have represented, but in a lighter shade, as

^a Fergusson, *Hist. of Arch.* book i. chap. v. cut 402. The chapel on the north side may perhaps, however, be of a later date.

^b F. Prevost, *Revue Archéologique*, iv. p. 659.

^c Kügler, *Geschichte der Baukunst*, vol. i. p. 376.

though of a later date, a series of chapels of various forms ranged along the sides of the nave and entered through these arches, and a larger irregularly quadrangular chapel, on the right of the apse, but not, as at S. Croce, extending beyond it. Hübsch, in his restoration of the church (pl. xxxvii.) shews chapels on either side of the nave near the altar end, but wholly omits the chapel by the side of the apse. The building, as it actually exists, is shewn in the accompanying sketch (Pl. XI. fig. 1), but it did not appear to me that the buildings annexed were original, or even of any early date. The massive wall projecting at right angles to the nave seems to be of the same date as the mass of the church. As it now stands, the nave is undivided, and forms one large hall. Nor does it seem ever to have been otherwise arranged. One chapel with a semi-circular termination is entered from the nave. The proportion of the width of the apse to that of the nave is as two to three.

The only historical notice of this church is that of its dedication by Gregory the Great about the year 600, but the building may very probably be older. It is unfortunately plastered both within and without, which greatly impedes a proper examination of it, though some of the plaster has fallen away.

Of S. Stefano in Via Latina all that remains are the walls to a height of about four feet. They were discovered by Signor Fortunati in excavations undertaken by him in the year 1858. The original foundation is ascribed to Leo I.

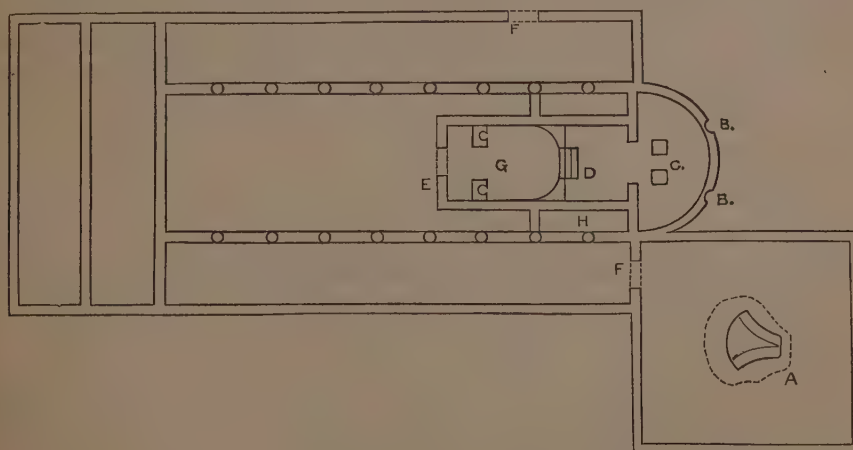


FIG. 1. PLAN OF S. STEFANO IN VIA LATINA.

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|------------------------------|---|
| A. Mass of masonry and bath. | E. Low wall with doorway obscurely indicated. |
| B B. Positions of columns. | F F. Doorways. |
| C. Foundation of altar. | G. Space little below level of nave. |
| D. Three steps. | H. Choir inclosure in coloured stucco. |

(440—461); and it does not seem to have ever undergone any important alteration. It has the usual basilican plan of vestibule, nave, two aisles, and apse, as will be seen by the annexed Plan.^a (Fig. 1.) The following peculiarities will however be observed. The vestibule is double; the columns both of the vestibule and of the nave are raised upon a stylobate about four feet high; and a quadrangular space is found at one side of the apse, in the centre of which is a small bath (A). This open space must, I think, be taken to represent the *atrium*; it occupies this position probably because the Via Latina runs on this side.

The arrangement at G is not easily to be explained. Perhaps the most probable solution is one suggested to me by Cavaliere de Rossi, that it originated from the desire to preserve an oratory already occupying the spot. The existence of this oratory is also, perhaps, the reason why the front of the church faces the east instead of the west; but for the oratory, it would probably have fronted the Via Latina, and the *atrium* might then have occupied its normal position in front of the nave.

In the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano an antique circular temple is made to serve as the vestibule; the remainder of the church consisting of a wide nave without aisles, and an apse. This was built in 526—530.

The churches of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. (the present choir), built between 578—590, and S. Agnese, built between 625 and 638, are alike in having a gallery or, as we should say, a triforium, carried over the aisles and along the wall of the front. This gallery has columns of less size than those of the ground story, carrying arches on which rests the clerestory wall. At S. Lorenzo there is no roof to the lower story of the aisles, but no doubt it once existed.

At SS. Quattro Coronati there is a similar gallery, but no clerestory—windows being pierced in the wall of the gallery.

If there were at any time an atrium at S. Lorenzo, it must have been at the south side, as the church stands in an excavation, and the hill leaves no space at the front or on the north side.^b S. Agnese also had probably no atrium; its apse abuts upon the Via Nomentana, and from the front the ground declines somewhat rapidly, the church having been built, like S. Lorenzo, in an excavation.

The churches of the second period differ but little in plan from those of the first; the atrium however seems to have been considered a feature of less importance, and nowhere appears in its full importance in a church then first erected. Where a church of earlier date with an atrium existed, it was preserved or restored; but

^a The plan is merely a sketch-plan, not made from actual measurement.

^b The original front faced the east; the present front faces the west.

in those newly erected, a dwarfed atrium, as at S. Prassede (817—824),^a or a mere space, as at SS. Nereo ed Achileo (800—816), or S. Maria in Domenica (817—824), appears to have been considered as sufficient.

S. Maria in Domenica has three apses, a lesser being placed on each side of the central and larger one; this arrangement, though a usual one in the East, and at Ravenna, and elsewhere in Italy, does not seem to have prevailed at Rome in the first period. In the second there are several instances of it, but it would appear to have been the exception rather than the rule. At S. Pietro in Vincoli, where it seems, from the plan given by Gutensohn and Knapp, to have existed, it was probably due to the restoration by Hadrian I. (772—795). That Pope, Anastasius tells us, when rebuilding S. Maria in Cosmedin, made “tres absidas.”

One church, however, requires particular mention, that of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio. As to its true date much doubt exists. I shall assume here that it dates from the rebuilding by Hadrian I. (772—795).

It consists of a vestibule (built 1217—1221), a long nave separated from the aisles by rows of square piers, a transept considerably longer than the nave is wide, and instead of an apse a square-ended choir about half the length of the transept; this choir is, however, not in its original state, having been altered it would seem in 1140, when the monastery was given to S. Bernard, and again perhaps in 1217—1221.^b

Towers make their first appearance in the second period. The earliest notices of them which have been found in Anastasius are those of the towers built by Pope Zacharias (742—757) at the Lateran, and by Pope Hadrian I. (772—795) at the Vatican; neither of these, however, seems to have formed part of the churches of S. John Lateran or of S. Peter, but only of the group of buildings connected with them, and were of a domestic rather than of an ecclesiastical character. One of the earliest notices of a bell-tower is of one erected by Leo IV. (847—855) at the church of S. Andrea Apostolo;^c an inscription found at S. Stefano in Via Latina states that one Lupo Grigarius had given bells in the time of Sergius III. (904—911). The inscription^d is mutilated,

^a There was earlier church of S. Prassede, but not on quite the same site.

^b See Sketch Book of Wilars de Honcourt, p. 83, note, where some remarks by the Comte de Montalembert are given on this point.

^c “Fecit etiam ibi ipsum campanile et posuit campanam cum malleo æreo et cruce exaurato.” Lib. Pont.

^d The inscription, as read by me, ran as follows; the stone was, however, so much broken that it would be difficult to say how much is wanting:

STEPHANI PRIMI S MARTIRI EGO LVPO GRIGARIVS E CANPAA EXPENSIS ITEM FEC TEMP
DN SERGII TER BEA SSIM ET CO ANG LIC IVNIORIS PAPE AMEN.

In the original the words are not divided.

but it seems to imply that he had built a tower as well as given the bells. It is however clear that a tower was not considered as a necessary part of a church at this period, for at S. Prassede and S. Cecilia the towers are evidently not parts of the original design; at S. Prassede the tower has been made by building a wall across one end of the transept and carrying up a tower upon the square thus formed; at S. Cecilia the tower is squeezed into one side in a manner which would never have been planned by the original builder. Hübsch thinks that the tower of S. Pudenziana is apparently the oldest existing in Rome; it did not strike me that there is anything about it to show that it is of earlier date than those of S. Cecilia or S. Prassede. Most of the Roman towers I apprehend are not earlier than the eleventh or twelfth centuries.^a

The direction in which churches at Rome were made to front seems to have been at all times dictated much more by the plan and situation of their sites than by any desire that they should look towards any given point. Eusebius describes the churches at Tyre and at Jerusalem as built with the doors of entrance to the east; S. Peter's and the Lateran were built with the same direction, and it seems probable that this was preferred where no reasons existed to the contrary.

S. Croce in Gerusalemme however faces north-west, S. Maria Maggiore south-east, S. Paolo fuor le Mura nearly west, and others towards almost all points of the compass.^b

Baptisteries.—There is no doubt but that in the earlier ages of Christianity the general usage was to place the baptismal font not in the basilica, but in a separate building constructed for that purpose,^c and, although but one example has remained at Rome, the baptistery of the Lateran (now called San Giovanni in Fonte), there is reason to believe that every district or parish church had such an appendage, for we find in Anastasius mention of the building and rebuilding of baptisteries in connection with churches of very minor importance, as those of S. Anastasio,^d S. Susanna,^e SS. Rufina e Secunda,^f S. Tomaso

^a Hübsch claims a high antiquity for some of the campaniles at Ravenna; that of S. Francesco he thinks was built circa 500, and that of S. Apollinare in Classe circa 568. (*Die Alt-Christlichen Kirchen*, p. 34.) A tower of four stories with a gable is represented on the ivory reliquary at Brescia, which cannot be much later in date than the third century.

^b A list will be found in Poole's *Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 482.

^c Two reasons may perhaps be given for this practice: one, that when the font was a cistern of considerable diameter its presence in the church would be inconvenient; the second, that thus the unbaptised would not be obliged to enter the church, a point which seems to have been held of importance, as is shewn by Eusebius' account of Paulinus' church at Tyre.

^d By Hadrian I. (772—795).

^e By Leo III. (795—816).

^f By Hadrian I. (772—795).

Apostolo,^a and S. Andrea Apostolo;^b all these were restorations except at S. Susanna, where it would rather seem that a baptistery was made for the first time. At S. Andrea Apostolo the baptistery is expressly described as a large building.

The baptistery of the Lateran (432—446) has been greatly modernised; it is octagonal, and this form would seem to have been very frequently chosen for baptisteries, perhaps for symbolical reasons. The baptistery connected with the Duomo of Ravenna, built about A.D. 400, is also octagonal; as are those at Parenzo in Istria, dating from about A.D. 542; Aquileia, from the fourth or fifth century; Albenga (between Nice and Genoa), probably from the eighth or ninth century; and many others of later dates. At Parenzo, and in many later instances, the baptistery is placed on the side of the *atrium* facing the front of the church. So little is known of the sites occupied by the baptisteries at Rome that it is impossible to say whether a general rule prevailed as to their position relatively to the basilicas.

Sepulchral and Memorial Churches.—There is some difficulty in distinguishing between memorial churches and baptisteries, as the two classes often assume very similar forms, but I apprehend that there is a very real distinction between them. The memorial or sepulchral church seems to have been at first a modification of the Roman sepulchre, in which an altar was placed, so that divine service might be celebrated near the tombs of the family for which it was destined, a practice which had become familiar in consequence of the use for like purposes during the period of persecution of the chambers in the catacombs in which the faithful were buried.

Constantine is believed to have adopted the same form when he erected a church over the Holy Sepulchre; and it is certain that the Emperor Honorius erected two buildings of this form in connexion with the great basilica of St. Peter at Rome; one as the memorial of SS. Peter and Paul, the other, it is thought, as a mausoleum for his family. Many churches (often expressly called Martyria) were erected in the same form, in various parts of the Christian world, from the time of Constantine downwards. In Rome there do not appear to have been many instances of the adoption of this plan, and of these not more

^a By Hadrian I. (772—795).

^b By Leo III. (795—816). "Quia angustior locus populi existerat qui ad baptismum veniebat isdem præsul a fundamentis ipsum baptisterium in rotundum ampla largitate construens in meliorem erexit statum, atque sacrum fontem in medio largiori spatio fundavit, et in circuitu columnis porphyriticis decoravit, &c."—Anast. in Vita.

than four now exist, viz., the Sepulchre of S. Helena (known as the Torre Pignatarra), now in ruins, and the churches of S. Costanza, S. Stefano Rotondo, and S. Teodoro. We may perhaps consider the fact that the Pantheon, when converted into a church by Boniface IV. in 608, was dedicated in honour of all martyrs as well as of the Virgin Mary, as some additional proof that it was thought peculiarly fitting that a church of circular form should be connected with the memory of martyrs.

The tombs of the Cornelian and Tossian families^a near Rome are good examples of the pre-Christian type of sepulchre; and the earliest Christian example which we have, the sepulchre of the Empress Helena (now called the Torre Pignatarra), very closely resembles them; it is a circular building of two stories covered by a dome, standing on a square basement, which contains a vault. In the circular part were eight niches in the thickness of the wall. It may be said that this was merely a tomb, and in no sense an ecclesiastical building; but the large size of the windows points to an use other than that of a sepulchre alone; and Anastasius tells us that it was provided by Constantine with an altar of silver, two patens of gold, twelve candelabra of silver inlaid with gold, a "corona" of gold, serving as a chandelier for suspended lamps, three chalices of gold, and other furniture and vessels for divine service.

The plan of the next example, the sepulchre of the Emperor Constantine's daughter Constantia, now known as the church or baptistery of S. Costanza, on the Via Nomentana, is much less simple. It is a circular building, in which a range of coupled columns supports entablatures, from which spring arches; these carry a clerestory wall pierced with twelve windows about 8ft. 4in. wide; the central space is covered by a dome, and the aisle by a plain circular vault incrustated with mosaics. The exterior has a broad circular basement, and was apparently once surrounded in a peristyle. A tendency towards a cruciform arrangement is manifested in the interior, as of the twelve intercolumniations, the two which face the entrance doorway and the two which are midway on each side are both wider and higher than the others; corresponding with these wider intercolumniations are three deep niches in the wall; between each of these larger niches are three lesser ones.

The well known sarcophagus of porphyry which once contained the remains of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine the Great, was removed from hence to the Vatican Museum in 1780. It is stated by Gerhard and Platner^b that it

^a See Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 343.

^b *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, vol. ii. part ii. p. 234.

originally stood in the centre, but was removed to the niche or tribune opposite to the entrance when Alexander IV. (1254—1261) dedicated the building as a church. The sarcophagus in material, size, and style corresponds very closely with that of S. Helena, also in the Vatican; the subjects of the ornamentation however differ; in this instance they consist chiefly of groups of boys picking or treading grapes, while on that of S. Helena are figures of soldiers on horseback leading prisoners, and busts of an Emperor and Empress.

With respect to the real date of the erection of this building there has been much difference of opinion. The popular notion that it was originally a temple of Bacchus has been espoused by some writers, but seems to rest on but a slight foundation; the chief ground is the fact, that the mosaics which cover the vaulting of the aisle represent subjects which have been thought inconsistent with its destination as a christian sepulchre or baptistery, and that Ciampini has given in the *Vetera Monumenta** an engraving from a copy of a drawing which Pietro Santo Bartoli received from Cardinal Camillo dei Massimi, Nuntio to the Spanish Court in the time of Philip IV., the original of which was preserved in the Escorial, and was believed to represent the mosaics with which the dome was once ornamented.

The mosaics of the aisle have four varieties of design, each occupying a division : 1st, a reticulated pattern, in compartments of which are genii, small whole-length human figures, beasts, birds, and a few quadriform rosettes; 2nd, small human whole-length figures and busts in compartments; 3d, vine-branches in which birds sit, and from which genii are picking grapes which other genii are carrying in ox-carts or treading in wine-presses, in the centre a female bust; and, 4th, compartments in which are birds and drinking vessels of all sorts, such as *cœnochoës*, *pateras*, horns set in gold, gourds, &c. Though there is nothing here of a directly Christian character, it will be remembered that the vine is a most common Christian symbol, that the vintage and the wine-press are not unfrequently so used, and that on the sarcophagus of Constantia the same subjects occur in connection with a lamb and peacocks—well-known Christian symbols. With regard to the mosaic represented in Ciampini's engraving the case is somewhat different; the character of this is distinctly pagan, as Bacchanalian figures are introduced, but the main subjects would seem to be representations of the occupations and sports of the country.

The next and most remarkable of the churches of this class in Rome is that

* Vol. ii. p. 1.

of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Cœlian, which appears to have been built between 467 and 483. In its present state it consists of a circular space, about seventy-five feet in diameter, surrounded by twenty-two Ionic columns carrying an entablature. Round this is an aisle, the exterior of which is formed by a colonnade of thirty-six columns, carrying arches, which, excepting on the east side, are blocked up. On the capitals of these columns are blocks from which the arches spring.

This colonnade is divided by eight piers into alternate series of four and five columns, and remains of walls corresponding with these piers show that the exterior aisle was divided into eight portions. The remains of the walls are too fragmentary to allow the original plan to be a matter of certainty, but it would seem that the divisions of the aisle to which the five arches, supported by the series of four columns, led, and which face the cardinal points, had higher roofs than those entered by the six arches supported by the five columns, the columns and arches being higher in the first case than in the second. Something of a cruciform plan, it will be seen, was obtained by this arrangement. The divisions entered by the six arches had a vaulting composed of earthen pots. The division facing the east serves as a chancel, and has a small apse; portions parted off at the sides form chapels; almost all the rest of the outer aisle is unroofed and in ruins. The wall which rests upon the inner colonnade is carried up like the drum of a dome, but it is far too weak to have supported a dome. The roof is of wood and of a low pitch; it is partly supported by arches crossing the central circular space from north to south, and resting upon two Corinthian columns, which however is very probably not the original arrangement. The drum is pierced with large and numerous windows, occupying in their aggregate about one-half of the circumference. The windows of the aisles seem to have been circles of large size.

This church was of very considerable dimensions, measuring about two hundred and ten feet in diameter.

The church of S. Teodoro, a circular building with an apse and covered by a dome, must be included in this class, for, even if it be an ancient temple, or built on the foundation of one, its form in all probability led to its dedication.

Chapels and Oratories.—In the Roman catacombs, besides the galleries, are many chambers which appear to have been excavated with other objects than merely that of serving as places of sepulture. These furnish us with the earliest examples of chapels or oratories, for some of them were probably constructed

before the time of Constantine,^a and probably no Christian chapel remains above ground which can be attributed to so early a date.^b

These chambers are for the most part small, usually not much exceeding twelve feet square, and generally quadrangular. In a few instances a column is found at each angle; the roof is commonly cut into the form of a groin, but sometimes arched. In the walls are usually altar-tombs covered by arches (*arcosolia*), some of which were, and others might have been, used as altars; ordinary graves (*loculi*) in most cases fill the walls.

In a few instances a chair with arms is carved out of the tufa at the end opposite to the entrance; and this is sometimes accompanied by a raised seat surrounding the chamber, the first being probably intended for the bishop, the second for the attendant clergy. This arrangement is well preserved in what Padre Marchi calls the “*chiesa maggiore*” of the cemetery of S. Agnese; where are on one side of a gallery three, and on the other two, chambers such as I have described, all nearly in a right line, and communicating with each other by wide arched openings. Padre Marchi supposes that the three chambers on the one side of the gallery were the place of assembly for the men, and those on the other for the women; the doorways from the galleries are, however, not three feet wide, so that the arrangement was very inconvenient if it were intended that the occupants of the two sets of chambers should form one congregation. As the chambers are only six feet wide, the whole were capable of containing only a very small number of persons.

Others of these chambers were pentagonal, octagonal, nearly circular, and of various irregular forms; sometimes they occur in pairs, one on each side of a gallery; for instance, a pair of irregular oblongs wider at one end than at the other in the cemetery of SS. Marcellinus and Petrus; and a pair of pentagons in that of Callixtus.

It however seems difficult to decide with certainty which of these chambers or groups of chambers were merely places of interment, and which were mainly intended as places of assembly. Among those which seem to have the clearest title to be placed in the latter category are, I think, one in the cemetery of the Via Salaria Nuova, and that which has been called the “*chiesa di S. Ermete*,” in a cemetery near the Via Salaria Vecchia.

^a Rostell (*Beschreibung von Rom*, by Bunsen, &c., vol. i. p. 408) however thinks that the chapels which are closely connected with the veneration of martyrs are to be ascribed to the fourth and fifth centuries.

^b Recent excavations below the church of S. Pudenziana have disclosed the remains of a church or chapel of very early date.

The first of these consists of an octagon about twenty feet in diameter connected with an oblong, measuring about twenty-five feet by sixteen. A separate entrance led to each division, and Padre Marchi expresses an opinion that they were used separately by the two sexes. This Padre Marchi observes is amongst the largest of these catacomb churches.

The church of S. Ermete is an oblong ending in an apse, measuring about fifty-eight feet in length by about twenty-three in width. It is separated by transverse arches into three divisions besides the apse and the passage or vestibule at the entrance. Beyond the apse is a large niche ending in a second and miniature apse, an arrangement for which Padre Marchi confesses himself quite unable to account. This building Padre Marchi believes to have been formed out of the hypocausts and vaults of a house standing over its site.

It must however be remembered that, though, as I have said, some of these oratories in the catacombs no doubt date from a period anterior to A.D. 300, anything like precision in fixing the date of most of them is extremely difficult. Restorations and embellishments were made at various periods down to the ninth or tenth centuries.

I have already adverted to the remains of an oratory within the basilica of S. Stefano in Via Latina. The so-called basilica of S. Alessandro on the Via Nomentana appears to me to deserve rather to be called a congeries of oratories than a basilica.

As will be seen by the plan ^a (fig. 2), the principal part ends in an apse towards the north, but with a rectilinear termination towards the south; and it would seem that these portions formed distinct chapels, for, while an almost entire altar was found at A, the substruction of another remains in the chord of the apse at H.

The northern chapel was formed into two divisions besides the apse, but it is difficult to say how high the walls at B were carried. At C were found the fragments of a stone tazza, probably the cantharus; and if this were its proper place, it would appear that this division must be considered to be the atrium, and that the chapel consisted of the apse and the division which precedes it. I am inclined to think that the central division D may perhaps not have formed a part of either the southern or the northern chapels, but merely served as a vestibule to both.

In the southern chapel the arrangement at E would seem to have been made

^a The plan is not made from measurement, but merely an eye-sketch.

for the reception of seats, and if so, would resemble that given by Padre Marchi (pl. xvii.) from a "cubiculum" in the cemetery of S. Agnes.

At A is the altar, of which I shall have to speak more fully afterwards; behind the altar is a platform raised by three steps, and occupying the division which formed this end of the church; at the further end of this, raised on another step, was found a marble cathedra, F.

At G is what seems to have been another chapel, but here, I believe, no trace of an altar has been found. This has been supposed to have been a chapel dedicated to S. Theodulus, who, together with S. Eventus, is known to have been placed in the same cemetery as S. Alexander.^a

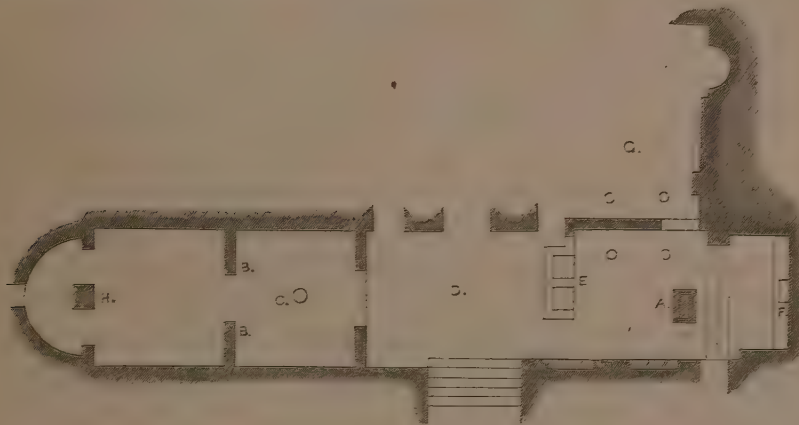


FIG. 2. PLAN OF S. ALESSANDRO IN VIA LATINA.

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|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| A. Altar. | E. Seats? |
| B.B. Walls, now low. | F. A cathedra of marble. |
| C. Broken tazza of stone. | G. Chapel of S. Teodulo. |
| D. Central space. | H. Substructure of an altar. |

The character of the pavements, and of such other decorated portions as exist, is that which marks works of the fifth century;^b it was therefore probably at that period that the originally simple excavation, where the body of S. Alexander was laid in the second century, was brought into the form in which we see it. The building was evidently partly above and partly below the level of the ground, the original place of interment having been a low vault but little below the level of

^a See De Rossi, *Roma Cristiana Sotterranea*, vol. i. p. 179, and elsewhere.

^b I observed one sepulchral stone bearing the date of the consulate of Postumianus (Rufus Prætextatus Postumianus, A.D. 448), and another that of Flavius Maburtius (Mavortius, A.D. 527). These, probably, point to the period when this cemetery, about seven miles from Rome, was specially honoured, and interment in it desired.

the ground, and the same process of cutting away the superincumbent earth and erecting a church having been gone through here as at S. Agnese and S. Lorenzo fuor le Mura, but on a much humbler scale.

From the time that the body of S. Alessandro was removed from hence^a the building was, no doubt, neglected, and at last fell into total ruin. It became filled in with earth and lost sight of until excavations suggested by Sig. Guidi, and commenced in 1854, brought these interesting remains to light.

Two small buildings which, though on the surface of the ground, are in close connexion with the catacombs, require mention, although of uncertain date.

They are both near the Via Ardeatina, between the Appian and the Ostian ways, and staircases from them conduct into the subjacent catacombs. The plan is very much alike in each, a square central space, from three sides of which three hemispherical apses open, and a very short nave without aisles. The dimensions are small, the largest being about fifty feet long, while the total width of the one is about forty-six, and of the other thirty-six feet. The central space would seem to have been covered by a wooden roof. (Padre Marchi, pl. xlv. and xlvi.)

P. Marchi (227 *et seq.*) is of opinion that one of these is the basilica which Pope Damasus (367—385) is recorded to have built, “Via Ardeatina ubi requiescit in catacumbis,” and that the other is that which was known as that of SS. Marcus and Marcellianus; others have thought that they are the work of the eighth or ninth century, when extensive restorations of the cemeteries were made. In P. Marchi’s opinion the apses in the one were made to receive sarcophagi for Pope Damasus, his mother, and his sister, who, it is recorded by Anastasius, were buried in the same basilica with himself. The apses in the other he supposes were destined to receive sarcophagi containing the bodies of SS. Marcus, Marcellianus, and some third saint.

The plan very closely resembles that of the Oratory of S. Croce, which Pope Damasus built near the baptistery of the Lateran.

Oratories, or as we should now call them chapels, attached to churches, undoubtedly date from an early period, for Paulinus,^b Bishop of Nola (A.D. 431), describes them under the name of “cubicula.” These were, it appears, intended for places of private prayer, and not for any public services.

The earliest instances at Rome are the chapels of S. John the Baptist and

^a According to some authorities it was removed to S. Sabina by Pope Celestine in the fifth century. Other churches at Rome have, however, claimed the honour of possessing it; while some French writers state that it was given by Leo III. to Charlemagne.

^b In the description of the church which he built at Nola (Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, 32nd Epist. of Paulinus).

S. John the Evangelist, which Pope Hilarus (461) built on two opposite sides of the baptistery of the Lateran; the first of these, which has been modernised, is a small transverse triapsidal building; the other, also very small, consists of a sort of vestibule and three arms of a cross. On the vaulting of the intersection of these arms are mosaics of very good style and execution.

The chapel of S. Venanzio, which is attached to the side of the chapel of S. John the Evangelist, and also to the baptistery and its portico, is an oblong with an apse at its western (or north-western) end. It was built by Pope John IV. about the year 638.

These are, however, aggregations of oratories, and not chapels attached to the bodies of churches. Instances of the latter of an early date are indeed extremely rare, and almost the only example before the year 1000, is that very remarkable one, the chapel of S. Zeno on the east side of the nave of S. Prassede. This is, in plan, a square with three rectangular recesses, the roof a Roman vault covered with mosaics. This was built by Pope Paschal I., about 817.

2. CONSTRUCTION AND MATERIAL.

The construction of the walls of the basilicas at Rome is the same as that which we are accustomed to see in the Roman remains in this country, viz., a grouted mass of stones and mortar in the interior of the wall, and a facing of thin bricks on the exterior. Until towards the middle of the sixth century binding courses of large flat bricks or tiles, traversing the whole thickness of the wall, were employed: they usually occur at intervals of about a yard.

In a very few cases the facing of the walls is of small squared pieces of tufa alternating with courses of brick, usually two or three of the former to one of the latter.

The columns, architraves, and door cases are almost always of marble, usually fragments of some ancient buildings.

During the first and second centuries of the Christian era the arts of brick-making and of building attained a very high degree of excellence; but from that period a continual deterioration is to be noticed as well in the quality of the bricks as in the fineness and regularity of the joints. During the third and the earlier part of the fourth centuries this is less noticeable, but becomes more and more striking in the two next centenary periods. The joints which, in the best brickwork of the first century, are scarcely perceptible, become in the sixth

nearly as wide as the bricks. In the remains of a palace, or of baths, behind S. Pudenziana, which Hübsch (p. 8) attributes to the second century, the joints, he says, are a quarter of an inch thick, while in the fifth, as in the Porta Salaria, they are one inch, and in the sixth, as in the part of the walls of Rome built by Belisarius, they are not less than an inch and a half in thickness.

The bricks or tiles are of various dimensions; those used for binding courses measuring in the Torre Pignatarra twenty-four and a half, twenty-three, and fifteen and a half inches square, and in the walls of Rome of the fifth century about eighteen inches. Lesser bricks are met with, not exceeding fifteen inches in their greatest dimensions, and such were often used for facings. When a peculiarly neat face was desired, triangular bricks nine to ten inches long were employed, and were set with the point in the direction of the thickness of the wall. Arches in the best works were turned with bricks thicker at one end than the other; these are found twenty and twenty-two inches long. In thickness the average of all kinds is about an inch and a half; but they vary considerably.

The buildings of the sixth and subsequent centuries are often constructed of bricks which had been used in earlier buildings; those then made are of smaller dimensions, ill-formed, and comparatively soft in texture.

The Roman basilicas are now in most cases covered with stucco; but when the brickwork can be seen it is usually roughly executed. It is probable that it was very often intended that it should be hidden by a coating either of stucco or of marble. The north end of the transept of S. Pietro in Vincoli is faced with the triangular bricks mentioned above; this was built between 422 and 455. The same construction is said to have been observable at S. Paolo f. l. m.; but, as the whole exterior was stuccoed over during the repairs, nothing of it can now be seen.

The thin flat bricks or tiles formed admirable materials for arches, which we accordingly find largely employed, discharging arches being freely used. It is not uncommon to find the heads of windows formed by two concentric arches of these tiles; and it is in consequence of the goodness of material and solidity of construction that so many buildings of a very early date have remained to the present day.

Earthen vessels are occasionally used as the material for vaulted roofs. At S. Stefano Rotondo parts of the external aisle were thus covered; here they are much of the shape and size of a German seltzer-water bottle without the neck and open at the bottom. Those remaining adhere to the wall in an upright position,

side by side; and it would seem that, being placed with the round end of one entering the mouth of the other, they formed a waggon-vault across the aisle.

The walls are usually perfectly flat and unornamented, without projections or recesses. The clerestory walls of S. Balbina and SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio have narrow strip buttressés between the windows, and at S. Pudenziana and, I think, S. Francesca Romana, similar strips carry arches which inclose the windows. The apse of S. Maria in Trastevere, built in 1139, is ornamented externally by shallow narrow panels, finishing with circular heads just below the block cornice.

3. PAVEMENTS.

Very few of the Roman churches retain even portions of pavements of early date; those beautiful pavements which adorn so many of them, and which it is usual to call (though improperly) "*opus Alexandrinum*,"^a being very seldom of an earlier date than the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.

If the churches of the period between A.D. 300 and A.D. 750 had remained in a primitive state we should probably find their pavements to consist either of mosaic or of slabs of variously coloured marbles so put together as to present patterns, such as that of the Pantheon, or as those discovered at Pompeii and Herculaneum, many of which have been laid down in the Museo Borbonico at Naples.

In S. Pudenziana are some remains of a mosaic pavement of rather large pieces of gray marble, which probably date from an early period. That in the semi-subterranean chapel of S. Silvestro, below the church of S. Martino ai Monti (Fig. 3), a mosaic of black and white stone arranged in a simple pattern, may perhaps be coeval with the building, which is supposed to have been a part of the substructures of the Baths of Trajan used as a Christian chapel by S. Silvester.

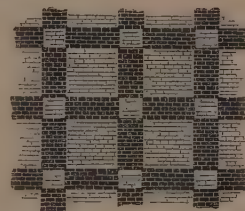


FIG. 3. S. SILVESTRO A S. MARTINO.

^a "Alexandrinum opus marmoris de duobus marmoribus, hoc est porphyretico et Lacedæmonio, primus (*i. e.* Alexander Severus) instituit."—Ælius Lampridius in *Vita Alexandri Severi*. Such a pavement, composed exclusively of porphyry and serpentine, may be seen in the baths of Caracalla at Rome. The medieval pavements commonly said to be of *opus Alexandrinum* contain marbles of all kinds as well as porphyry and serpentine.

The fine pavement at S. Maria in Cosmedin bears an inscription naming Alphanus, who was chamberlain to Pope Calixtus II. (1119—1124), as the donor. That of S. Maria in Trastevere is attributed to

At S. Stefano in Via Latina (A.D. 440—461) the pavement is of flags of marble of large size, without any apparent attempt at a pattern. At S. Alessandro (Fig. 4), slips of marble inclose squares of coarse mosaic of grey marble, with a sort of

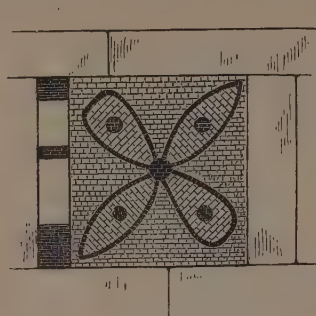


FIG. 4. S. ALESSANDRO.

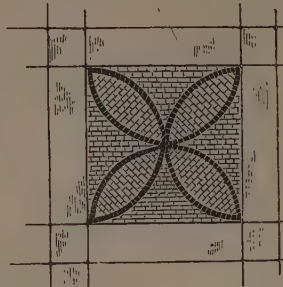


FIG. 5. S. LORENZO F. L. M.

quatrefoil pattern formed with tesserae of dark stone, porphyry, or serpentine. A pavement of exactly the same character was discovered when the original level of the north aisle of the choir of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. was reached by excavations made in the winter of 1858—59 (Fig. 5).

In the excavations made at the same time below S. Clemente the pavement of the earlier church was uncovered, and consisted of slabs of marble of various colours arranged in a somewhat simple pattern.

Very probably many of the slab pavements were removed from older buildings and applied to the decoration of the newly built churches. An interesting example, though not now in Rome, is the small portion of marble pavement which still remains in the triforium of the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle. This no doubt was a part of those decorations which Charlemagne caused to be brought either from Rome or Ravenna for the adornment of his minster.

The pavement of the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede is, I have no doubt, the original one, and I think shows the germ of the fine pavements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Probably this is the earliest example of a pavement of this character now existing. Perhaps the next to this in point of antiquity is the pavement of SS. Quattro Coronati; its comparative simplicity of pattern gives it an evidently early character; the church was repaired between

Pope Innocent II. (1130—1143).—Besch. von Rom, vol. iii. part 3, p. 665. That of the choir of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. is evidently of the same date as the paving of the platform of the altar, the ciborium over which bears date 1148. That of the Lateran was made, or perhaps more probably repaired and re-arranged, by Pope Martin V. (1417—1431).

847 and 855, and again in 1100. A large part of the white marble used in this pavement consists of fragments of slabs bearing Christian inscriptions of early dates.

4. DECORATION OF WALLS AND ROOFS.

The rough materials of which the Roman churches were built required an ornamental covering in order that the interiors might have the splendour which in the fourth century had become indispensably requisite in a public building of any importance.

The whole interior of the more sumptuous churches was therefore covered in the lower part with slabs of variegated marbles, and in the upper with mosaics, or at least with stucco painted and sometimes gilt. Though at Rome comparatively little of such decorations remain, their constant use is proved by the numerous passages in the writers of the fourth and fifth centuries in which they are alluded to; for instance Eusebius (*de Vita Constantini*, lib. 3, cap. xxxvi.) describing the church built at Jerusalem by Constantine, tells us “τὰ μὲν εἰσω τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὕλης μαρμάρου ποικίλης διεκάλυπτον πλακώσεις.” Paulinus of Nola, ep. 12 ad Severum, “Apsidem, solo et parietibus marmoratam, camera musivo illusa clarificat.” S. Jerome, ep. 8, “Alii ædificent ecclesias, vestiant parietes marmorum crustis,” &c. It would be easy, if desirable, to add many like quotations.

These decorations, when complete, gave to the building a sober splendour, of which the interiors of ordinary stone or plaster painted in fresco, to which we are accustomed in northern Europe, give no idea; their effect may be judged of by the interiors of S. Mark at Venice and of the cathedral of Monreale in Sicily. That of the cathedral of S. Sophia at Constantinople, if the whitewash which hides the mosaics of the roofs were cleared away, would present the same system of decoration on a much more magnificent scale. All these however are Byzantine and not Roman in style, and the finest example of the latter style which came down to our time was the great basilica of S. Paolo f. l. m.^a

The decoration by slabs of marble was bestowed upon the walls, while that by mosaic was employed especially upon the vault of the apse, the arch in front of it, and the so-called triumphal arch, that which spans the nave at the entrance

^a The marble coating had however, I believe, entirely disappeared before the burning of the church; traces only existed in the time of Ugonio.

to the transept. The older churches of Rome, with very few exceptions, either still have, or are known to have had, mosaics thus placed, and especially in the vault of the apse. The subjects of the mosaics of the vault of the apse are usually full-length figures of our Saviour, or the Virgin Mary, accompanied by saints, usually those to whom the church was dedicated, and of the pope by whom the church was built. Those of the triumphal arch are usually taken from the Revelations, the centre of the arch being occupied by a half-length figure of Christ in the act of benediction, or by a figure of a lamb enthroned, while the seven lamps, the four angels, the Evangelistic symbols, and the twenty-four elders fill the spandrels. In a few instances, as at S. Maria Maggiore, and formerly at S. Paolo f. l. m. a band of mosaics runs over the colonnade on each side of the nave. At S. Sabina the inside of the wall of the front has an inscription in very large letters, and in a few cases there are mosaics on the outside of the front; these last, however, I believe, are all of a comparatively late date. The vaulted roofs are in a few instances covered with mosaics, as in the aisle of S. Costanza and the roof of the chapel of S. John the Evangelist at the baptistery of the Lateran.

The marble decoration was of two kinds, one in which the walls were simply lined with slabs of veined or variegated marbles without any attempt at a pattern, the other in which patterns more or less elaborate were executed in marbles of various colours cut into the requisite shapes and accurately fitted together.^a Examples of the first kind may be seen in the apse of S. Agnese (though I am not sure that what is actually there may not be a restoration), and in the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede. Of the second kind, the most remarkable example remaining in Rome is in the church of S. Sabina, where the spaces over the columns and arches of the nave are covered with marbles. Giallo antico, serpentine, and porphyry are the marbles chiefly used. The soffits of the arches are lined with thin slices of marble, and I believe that in many cases (particularly before A.D. 750), the soffits of the arches of windows were similarly lined both within and without. A much more remarkable example now

^a Perhaps no better examples of this method of decoration can be found than the choir of the cathedral of Parenzo in Istria (about A.D. 542), S. Giovanni in Fonte, (the baptistery of the cathedral, 5th or 6th century?), and S. Vitale (constructed 547), at Ravenna. In the first and second of these the decorations are in an almost complete state. Engravings representing them are to be found in *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates* (pl. xvi. of Parenzo), and Hübsch, *Alt-Christlichen Kirchen*, pl. xxix. Mother of pearl, and several kinds of marble, porphyry, serpentine, and brick, are employed.

no longer exists in a complete form—this was the Basilica Siciniana, afterwards the church of S. Andrea in Catabarbara, near S. Antonio Abate. This building, not constructed for a church, was a hall without aisles, and the whole wall was covered with groups of animals, mythological subjects, trophies of arms, and the like, executed with pieces of marble and coloured glass. Two compartments representing tigers with their prey are in a chapel on the south side of S. Antonio Abate; and a more remarkable portion, one of the upper compartments, is, I believe, still preserved in the palace at the Quattro Fontane, now belonging to Queen Christina of Spain. In this, in which are many small figures of deities of Egyptian character, and a representation of the story of Hylas, much coloured glass is used.^a

The piers in the side-walls of the S. Croce in Gerusalemme were originally coated with marble of two or more colours, arranged so as to form some sort of panelled pattern. This probably dates from a time earlier than that when the building was converted into a church, but it may serve as an early example of this kind of decoration.

It is not uncommon to find remains of decoration by means of marble slabs in the “cubacula” of the catacombs. An instance of this is the chamber in the cemetery of S. Callisto from which the body of S. Cecilia is said to have been taken. The decorations here are probably post-Constantinian.

Painting in fresco or in tempera was no doubt largely used as a means of decorating walls or vaults when mosaic was thought too costly. Very little however remains of early date except in the “cubacula” of the catacombs, the paintings^b in which are too well-known to require any more detailed notice here. On the vault of the chapel of S. Silvestro (below S. Martino ai Monti) are remains of painting which seem to belong to a very early period; they are very much injured, but the subjects appear to be SS. Peter and Paul, some other saints, and in the centre of the vault a great red cross with limbs of equal length.

In that part of the transept of S. Prassede over which the tower has been built there are large remains of fresco paintings; the subjects seem to be either

^a Engraved in Von Minutoli, *Ueber die Anfertigung und die Nutzenanwendung der farbiger Gläser bei dem Alten*, pl. iv.

^b Many of these are given by Agincourt, but only on a very small scale; the great work edited by Perret, and published at the expense of the French government, is unfortunately not as accurate as might be desired as regards either details or style; the copies published by Cav. de Rossi (*Roma Cristiana Sotterranea*) are probably the most exact which have as yet appeared.

biblical or legendary; in one compartment the miracle of Cana would appear to be represented, in another are two figures with nimbi, and lying side by side swathed with bands like mummies, in the fashion so often represented in early Christian sculptures and paintings; the soffits of the windows shew traces of garlands of fruit and flowers, much resembling those in mosaic in the soffits of the triumphal arch and of the apse of this church. These paintings would seem to belong to the period of the building of the church, A.D. 817; the style is stiff and dry, and very closely resembles that of the mosaics in the same church.

The paintings in S. Urbano alla Caffarella are attributed by Platner (*Besch. von Rom*, vol. i, p. 428) to the year 1011. Those in the chapel of S. Silvestro in Portico^a attached to the church of SS. Quattro Coronati are of the twelfth century. These cover the greater part of the walls, and are well worth attention.

Some interesting fresco paintings were found on the lateral walls of the earlier church of S. Clemente, in the course of the excavations lately carried on there; but they do not appear to be of very early date.^b

Though, as might be expected, no example of a wooden roof of early date has come down to us, it is clear from numerous passages of ancient writers that it was customary to decorate the interior of the roof in a very sumptuous manner, and to adorn it highly with gilding; the precise fashion of these roofs must be in great measure a matter of conjecture, but it would seem probable that a coffered ceiling of wood resting upon the main tie-beams and allowing them to remain visible, was a not uncommon form. These tie-beams were no doubt carved and gilt, and it would seem from a passage in Prudentius^c sometimes covered with plates of gilded metal.

5. COLUMNS, ARCHES, AND ARCHITRAVES.

There is reason to believe that in no church erected in Rome between A.D. 300 and A.D. 1000 are all the columns original, that is to say worked for the building in which they now stand, but that in every case all or some were taken from some

^a Built in 1140.

^b See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd series, vol. ii. p. 142, 164, 264, 295, 407.

^c The passage is part of the description of S. Paolo f. l. m.

Bracteolas trabibus sublevit ut omnis aurulenta

Lux esset intus, ceu jubar sub ortu.—*Peristephanon*, Hymn 12.

earlier building. This is to be inferred from the shafts being in almost every instance, even in S. Costanza, of unequal sizes, and in very many cases they differ very widely in material, in proportion, and in decoration. Thus, in S. Paolo f. l. m. twenty-four columns were of Pavonazzetto marble, believed to have been taken from the mausoleum of Hadrian; these were partly fluted. The remainder, which are of white marble, in the opinion of Bunsen and Platner (*Besch. von Rom*, vol. iii. part i. p. 448) were made for the church. It would therefore seem that at the close of the fourth century there was still sufficient skill to execute a tolerable copy; and it is not unlikely that in other churches of the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries a deficiency of columns of the same material, size, and style was supplied by new ones made expressly. Most of the churches of those dates, and particularly those of the fifth, as S. Sabina, S. Maria Maggiore, and S. Pietro in Vincoli, have ranges of columns of the same style and nearly equal size; in later times the same facility of choice among the ancient temples and palaces no longer existed, and the builders were obliged to content themselves, as at S. Maria in Cosmedin, S. Maria in Trastevere, and elsewhere, with columns of various heights and diameters, some Corinthian, some Ionic, some plain, some fluted.

A very instructive example of the downward progress is offered by the doorways of the chapel of S. John the Baptist at the baptistery of the Lateran, and of the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede, of which I shall have to speak under the head of doorways.

What I have said of the shafts of columns applies to their capitals and bases, and also to architraves; when the builders could obtain what suited their purpose they employed it, but when they failed to do so, they, in the earlier ages at least, made imitations to the best of their powers; these imitations, even in the fourth century, such as the capitals at S. Paolo f. l. m. were far from successful; while in the ninth century, as is shewn by the doorway of S. Zeno,^a the ability of the sculptors was altogether unequal to execute anything like a tolerable imitation of the ancient work, though an attempt has been made to produce Ionic capitals, and to copy the mouldings of the fine fragment of a cornice upon the unmoulded end.

Almost the only examples of original work are the blocks ornamented with a cross, which in the fifth and sixth centuries were frequently placed upon the capitals, and from which the arches sprung; examples of these will be found at

^a *Vide* Plate X.

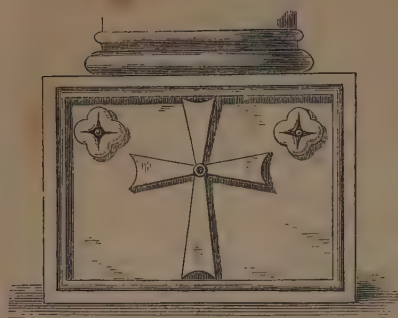


FIG. 6. BASE OF COLUMN, S. LORENZO F. L. M.

S. Lorenzo f. l. m. (the choir, 578—590), S. Stefano Rotondo (467—483), and S. Stefano in Via Latina (498—514.) (See Plate VIII. fig. 4.) At S. Lorenzo the north aisle of the choir was excavated in 1858—59, and the bases of the columns were uncovered; one of them is represented in the accompanying woodcut (Fig. 6). Some of the capitals at S. Alessandro, particularly those of the little columns of the altar, may be original.

Two very remarkable capitals will be found in the church of S. Clemente, where they now form part of the monument of Cardinal Venerio (circa 1490), which is affixed to the wall near the south-western end of the church. As will be seen by the engravings (Pl. VIII. figs. 2, 3) they are quite Byzantine in style, and are admirably well executed in white marble, the outer portion being cut quite free from the inner, so that the effect is that of a well-shaped capital placed within a basket; one bears an inscription, part of which is unfortunately hidden, what is legible is *MERCURIUS PB SCE RO . . . S D M.*^a The shafts are covered with branches and leaves of ivy very well executed in low relief. The style of these capitals is like nothing else in Rome, except a window which I shall notice hereafter, and the choir inclosure of S. Clemente; between which last and the capitals is so great a resemblance in style that it seems to me probable that both are of the same date (sixth or seventh century?), and that these columns belonged to the ciborium of the altar, Mercurius being the donor of it.^b

A curious attempt at an original combination of mouldings is to be found in the imposts which are placed upon the capitals of the columns in the angles of the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede, (Pl. VIII. fig. 1.) in order to raise the point of the springing of the vault sufficiently high.

According to Ugonio (*Besch. von Rom*, vol. iii. part iii. p. 640) the columns of the nave of S. Cecilia were octagonal and of travertine; were these the work of Pope Paschal I. (?) The church of SS. Nereo ed Achileo (800—816) has also octagonal piers; but those now there probably date from the 13th century.

^a These capitals are very badly and incorrectly engraved by Hübsch, pl. xxv, figs. 16 and 17; the inscription even is omitted.

^b Kügler (*Gesch. der Baukunst*, vol. ii., p. 47) has engraved a capital of the ciborium of the altar at Parenzo in Istria, bearing some resemblance to Pl. VIII. fig. 3. This ciborium bears the date 1277, but it may very possibly be that the capital is far older; it very much resembles those in the church which appear to date from the sixth century.

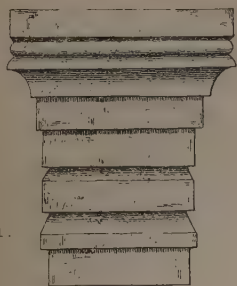


Fig. 1.

Chapel of S. Zeno,
S. Prassede

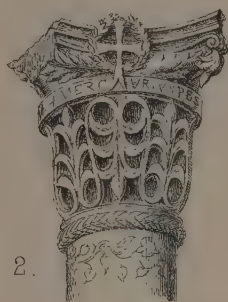


Fig. 2.

S. Clemente

..SDM+MERCVRIVS PBSCE RO.



Fig. 3.

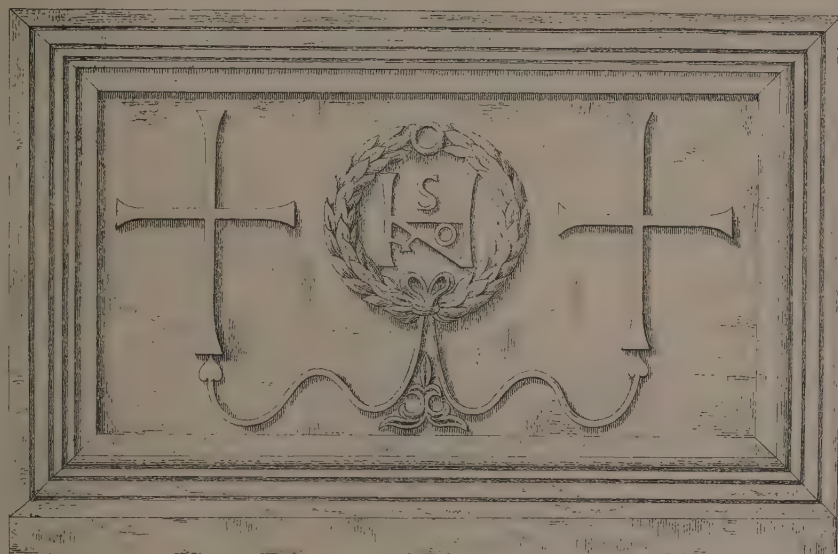


Fig. 5. S. Clemente



Fig. 4. S. Stefano
in via Latina

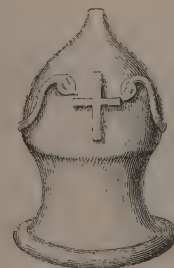


Fig. 6.
S. Stefano in via Latina

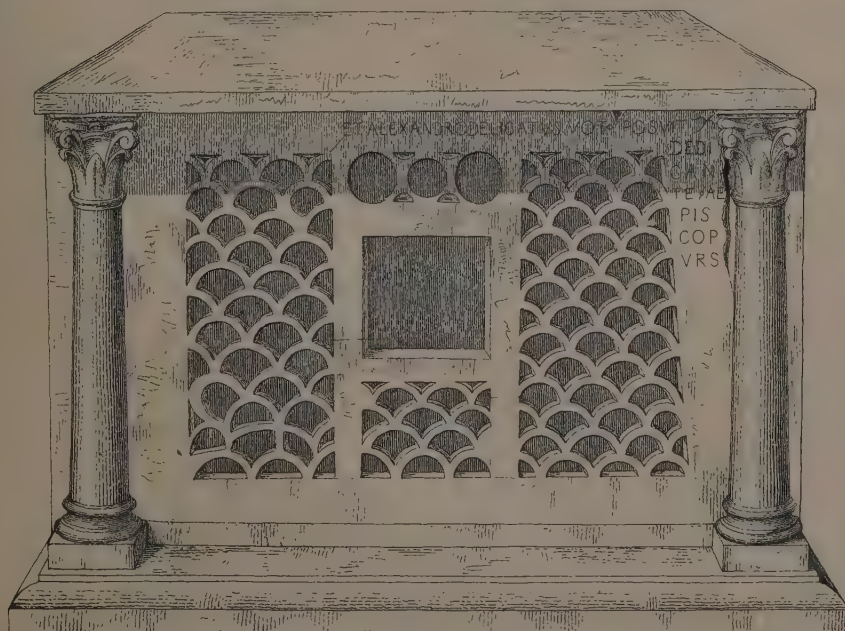


Fig. 7. S. Alessandro

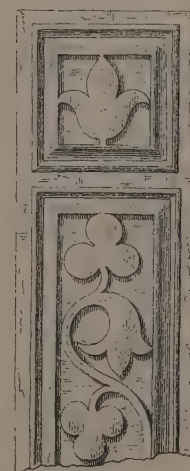


Fig. 8.

S. Martino ai Monti

Arches were almost invariably constructed of brick and covered with marble, stucco (often no doubt ornamented in relief), or mosaic.

6. CORNICES.

The cornices of most of the older churches of Rome are very simply formed of brick. It is difficult to say to what age they belong; and in many cases they are probably comparatively modern. At S. Stephano Rotondo the central circular part has a plain block cornice which may possibly be original, though, as such parts of a building are necessarily greatly exposed to injury from neglect or repairs, this may be doubtful.

A few churches have the cornices of their apses of a more ornamental character, having consoles tolerably well sculptured in stone in antique style; such are to be found at SS. Quattro Coronati, S. Cecilia, and S. Martino ai Monti; they very nearly resemble each other, with the exception that in the last case human faces surrounded by foliage decorate the flat surfaces between the consoles. These cornices were certainly not sculptured at the time of the reconstruction of these churches in the ninth century, and I am somewhat at a loss whether to suppose that they are antique fragments, or that they belong to the time when these churches were first built.

Some remains of cornices may be seen in the ruined part of SS. Quattro Coronati, which however seem to be antique.

7. ROOFS AND VAULTS.

In the Roman Christian basilicas all the wider spaces, such as the naves or transepts, were covered with wooden roofs; the narrower, as the aisles, the chapels, and the confessions, were vaulted in brick. Baptisteries or other circular or octagonal buildings were also sometimes, but not invariably, covered by domes of brick.

Perhaps the only exception as to the wider spaces being covered by a wooden roof is the transept of S. Pietro in Vincoli (A.D. 442), which is vaulted with a plain groin in three compartments.

At SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio the walls of the clerestory of the nave incline

inwards towards the top, so that it seems certain that it was intended to cover the nave with a barrel vault.



FIG. 7. PORTION OF A BAS-RELIEF ON A SARCOPHAGUS IN THE VATICAN.

which dates from 625—638. A portion of the first of these is shown in the accompanying woodcut (fig. 7); in it the roof would seem to be represented as if covered with large sheets of metal,^a while in the mosaic the red colour is no doubt intended to represent tiles of two shades of red laid in a pattern.

8. DOORWAYS AND DOORS.

Very few examples can be found of doorways made for the places they occupy; where they have not been altered in modern times, which is rare, they are almost always composed of fragments of cornices and friezes taken from some pagan edifice.

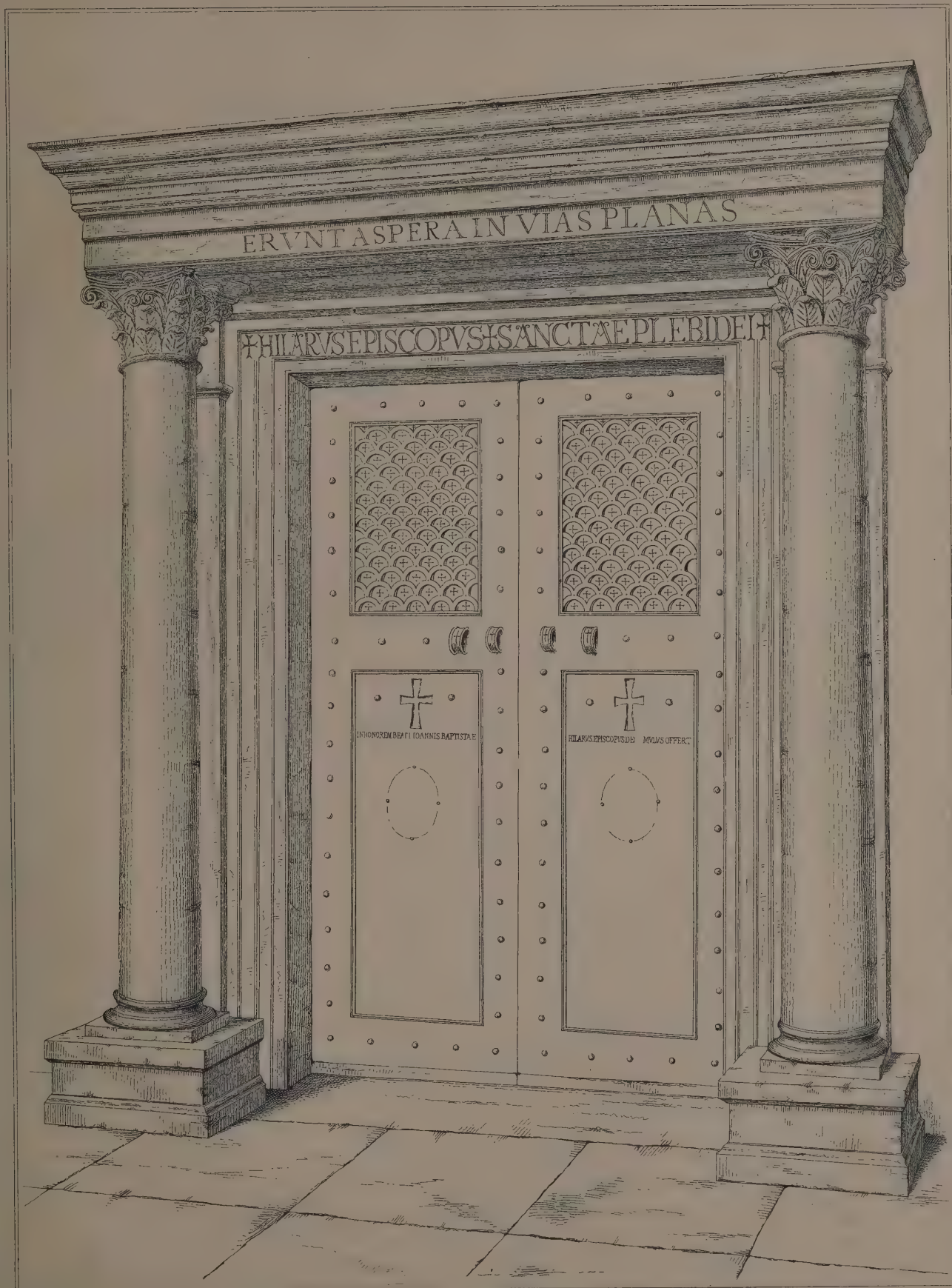
One of these very few examples of original doorways may, I think, be taken to be that shown in Plate IX.; it is the doorway leading to the chapel of S. John the

^a Lead was used as a covering for roofs, as appears from Eusebius.

The aisles are usually, but not invariably, vaulted with the so-called Roman vault, a plain groin without ribs, but a plain barrel vault may sometimes be found.

The apse is invariably covered by a semi-dome.

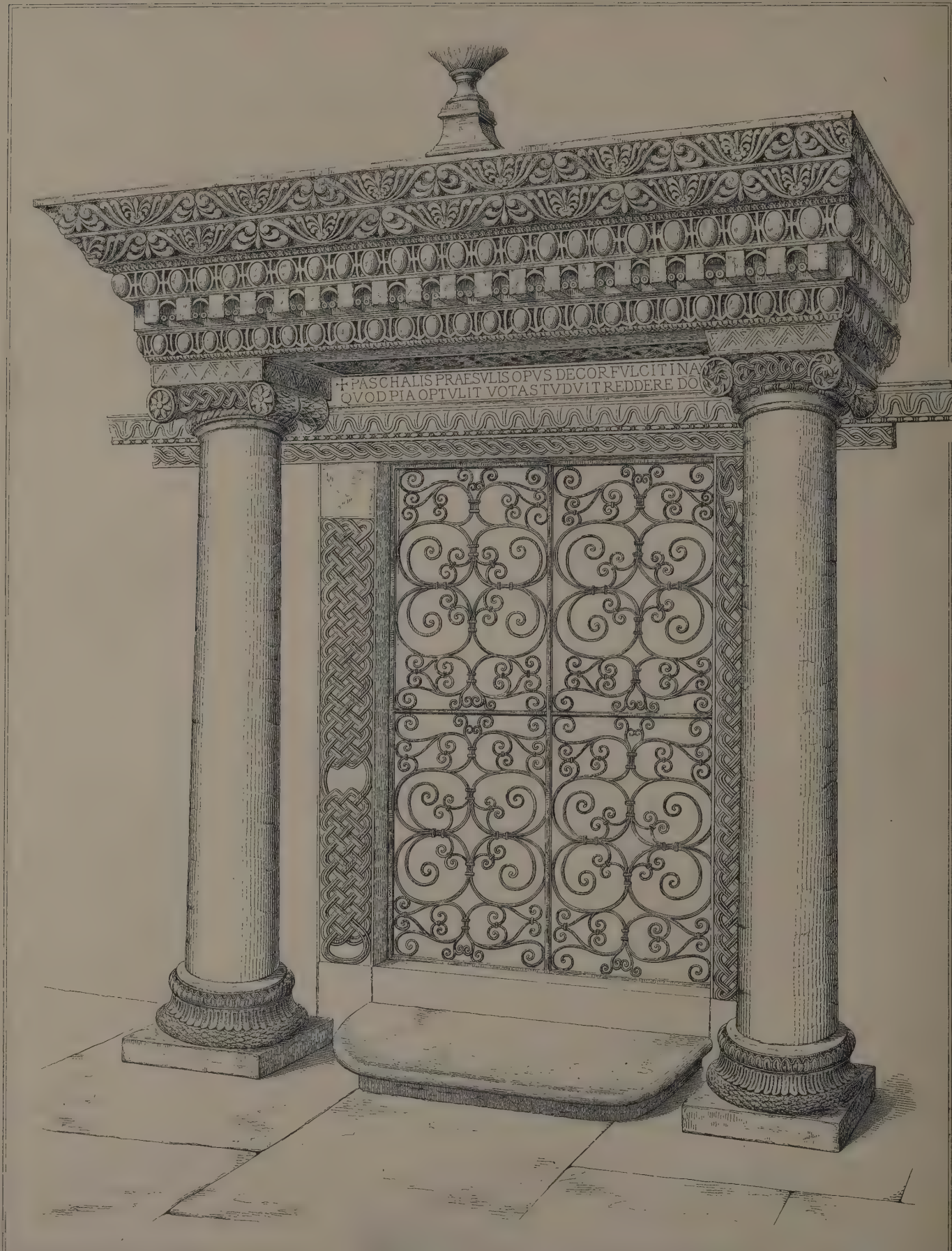
As to the construction of the timber-roofs, nothing can be said with certainty, excepting that the frequent mention of "trabes" by writers of the earlier centuries and by Anastasius leads to the inference that it was such that the tie-beam was a very important part of the framing. The pitch was low, as is shown in the representations of churches which may be found in sculptures and mosaics of the period, as for instance, on a sarcophagus in the Museum of the Lateran, which can hardly be later than the middle of the sixth century; and in the mosaic of the apse of S. Agnese,



A. N. Del.

Kell. Bro^s. Lith. London

DOORWAY OF CHAPEL OF S. JOHN BAPTIST, LATERAN.



Baptist from the baptistery of the Lateran, built by Pope Hilarus (A.D. 461—467). The shallowness and unclassical character of the mouldings, and the feebleness of the execution, make it probable that in this we have a genuine specimen of the art of the middle of the fifth century. That the bronze door is of that period is testified to by the inscription it bears,^a as well as by the character of the ornamentation.

The only alteration which this doorway seems to have undergone is, as it appears to me, that it has been set a little forward, and that a plain pilaster has been inserted behind the columns. The shafts and stylobates are of porphyry, the capitals and bases^b of serpentine, the doorcase and cornice of grey veined marble. The shafts and capitals may probably have been brought from some earlier building; the remainder, as I have said, is probably original.

A very instructive contrast to this doorway is that afforded by the doorway of the chapel of S. Zeno at S. Prassede, built by Pope Paschal I. (Plate X.) Here, all except the doorcase and the capitals of the columns is antique; the shafts, of unequal diameters, are, one of black porphyry, the other of a rare black and white granite; the bases are antique Corinthian of white marble; while the capitals are such imitations of Ionic as the artist of the day could execute. The ornamentation of the doorcase it will be seen (Fig. 8) is not even an attempted imitation of classical forms, but formed by patterns of knotwork such as are found on fonts, crosses, or tombstones in this country and on the continent, which date between about A.D. 700 and A.D. 1000. The design is very irregularly worked out, and the execution is feeble and scratchy. The impost is a fragment of a fine antique cornice; on the under side has been sculptured a pattern which bears some resemblance to one occurring in classical work (Plate XII. fig. 5). There is, probably, no example at Rome which shows more instructively the condition of the architectural art of the period than this doorway. There is no doubt as to its date, and it does not seem to have been altered or reconstructed. The doorway at the east end of the atrium of S. Clemente is square-headed and bordered by a plaited ornament, very similar to that of the doorway of S. Zeno. This may have been made at the time that Pope Hadrian I. (A.D. 772—795) repaired the church.



FIG. 8. JAMB OF DOOR, CHAPEL OF S. ZENO IN S. PRASSEDE.

^a "In honorem beati Joannis Baptistæ Hilarus Episcopus Dei famulus offert."

^b These capitals and bases are remarkable as among the very few examples of ornaments executed in that very intractable material usually called serpentine, in reality a green porphyry.

Good examples of doorways composed of ancient fragments without any original work may be seen at S. Sabina (A.D. 425?), S. Giorgio in Velabro (A.D. 682), S. Maria in Cosmedin (A.D. 790), and in many other churches; but they of course present little that is characteristic; most of them have probably been taken down and rebuilt in some of the many repairs which these buildings have undergone.

Very curious representations of doorways and doors will be found in the basrelief in the Vatican already noticed in connection with roofs (Fig. 7). The grating, no doubt of metal, over one of the doors is noticeable. A similar one, supposed to be antique, is over the door of the Pantheon.

Doors were frequently of bronze: those of the Pantheon, of SS. Cosmo e Damiano, of the chapel called Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran, and of one of the doorways of the front of S. Giovanni Laterano, are believed or known to be antique, and there are examples dating from the thirteenth century; but perhaps the only one now remaining which was made in Rome during the period of which I am treating is that of the chapel of S. John the Baptist,^a which I have already mentioned. The two valves of this door are solid castings in bronze. The small crosses in the upper compartments are, I believe, of niello; the larger in the lower compartments were probably inlaid with silver; the holes in the margins, at the junctions of the little arcuations and in the lower compartments, show that many small ornaments, probably stars or knobs, and in the lower part a wreath or a patera, have been detached or lost. The doors of S. Paolo f. l. m., made in 1070 at Constantinople, were of wood covered with plates of bronze, damascened with gold, silver, and perhaps copper and niello.^b

More costly materials than bronze were, however, sometimes employed on doors. Pope Honorius I. covered the doors of S. Peter's with silver to the weight, according to Anastasius, of 975 lbs., and S. Jerome, Ep. 8, alludes to the decoration of doors with ivory and silver.

The wooden doors of S. Sabina, with many panels of carvings in relief (Agin-court, *Scultura*, pl. xxii.), have been attributed to the fifth, the ninth, and the twelfth centuries; the last is, perhaps, the most probable date. The subjects are Old and New Testament history.

^a Anastasius tells us that Pope Hilarus made "in ambobus oratoriis (sc. S. Joannis Baptistæ and S. Joannis Evangelistæ) januas æreas et argento clusas."

^b Bunsen and Platner (Besch. von Rom, vol. iii. part i. p. 447) say, "mit Schmelzarbeit von verschiedenen Farben;" enamel work of various colours. I think this is to be doubted. Some fragments of the doors are, I believe, still in existence.

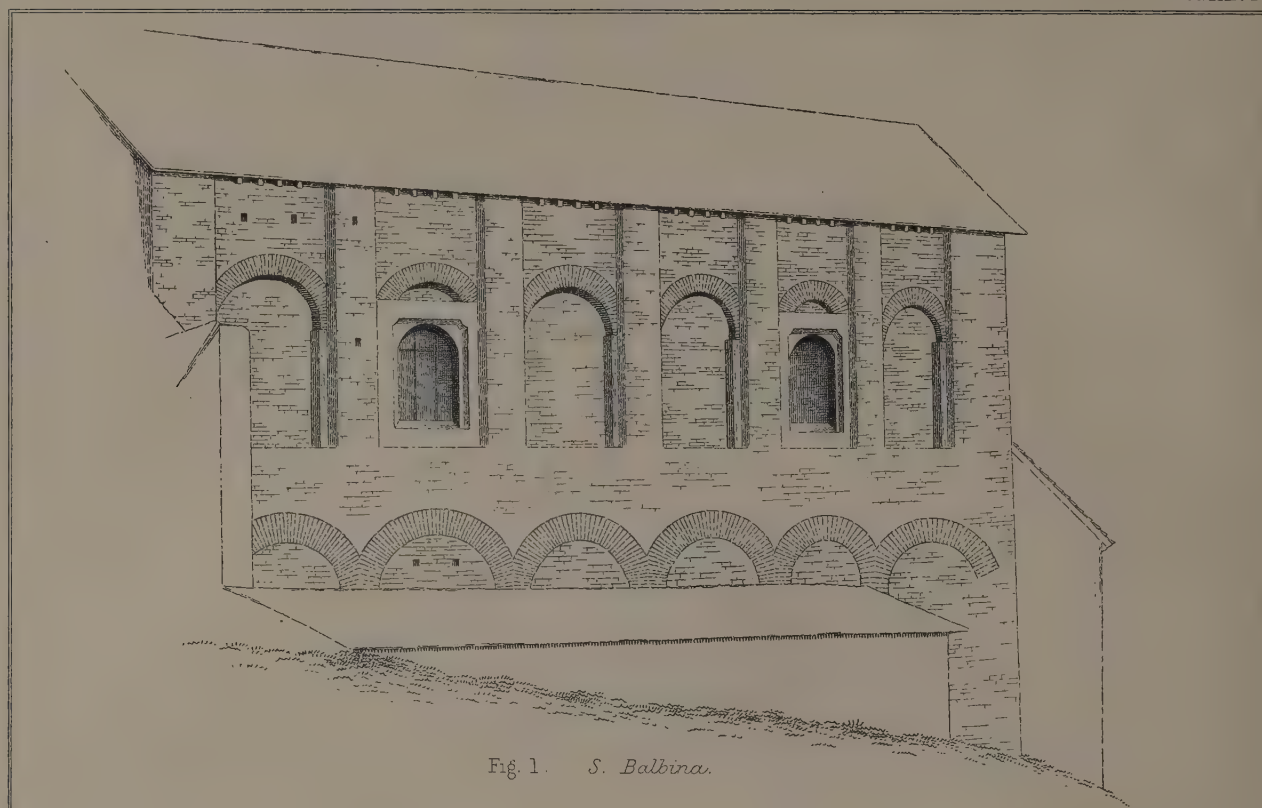


Fig. 1. *S. Balbina.*

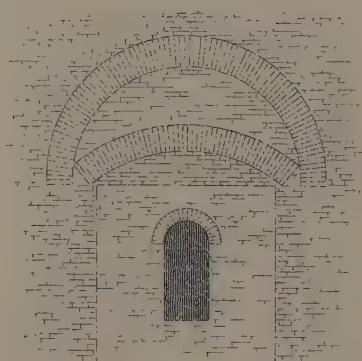


Fig. 2. *S. Croce in Gerusalemme.*

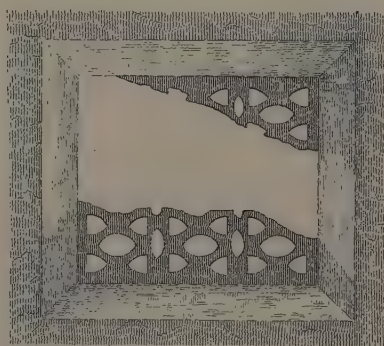


Fig. 4. *S. Silvestro a S. Martino.*

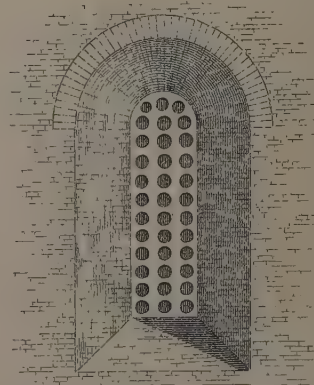


Fig. 5. *S. S. Vincenzo e Anastasio.*

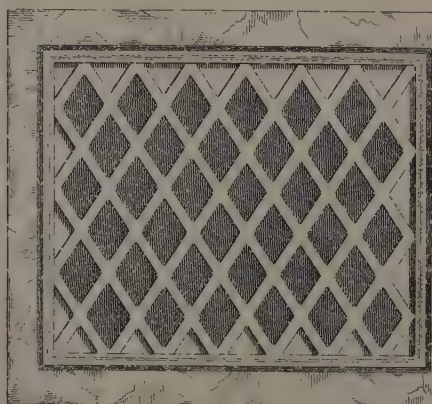


Fig. 3. *S. Croce in Gerusalemme.*

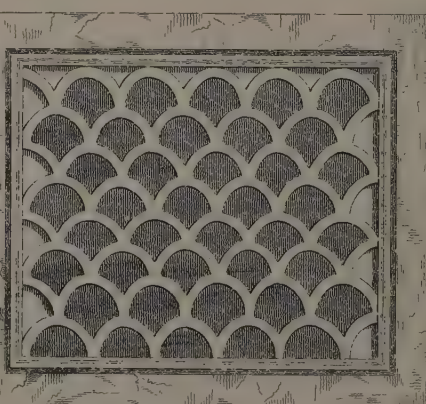


Fig. 6. *S. Lorenzo.*

9. WINDOWS.

With the exception of the loss of the greater part of the internal decoration, nothing has so much altered the appearance of the Christian basilicas as the changes which the windows have undergone. Originally both numerous and of immense size, they have been usually reduced, on an average, to a third of their number, and often to one-half of their size, and they are now blank yawning spaces, while originally they were filled with marble slabs pierced with a variety of patterns.

No one who examines the earlier churches can fail to be struck by the number and the size of the windows. In S. Paolo f. l. m., were no less than 120 windows, each 29 feet high by 14 feet 6 inches wide. In S. Peter's there were at least 80 windows of similar dimensions. In S. Sabina the clerestory windows are 14 feet 6 inches high by 7 feet 3 inches wide, and of these there are not less than 13 on each side. In S. Croce in Gerusalemme, the windows are 14 feet 6 inches wide by 36 feet 5 inches high, or if, as is more probable, the segmental arch is original, about 28 feet high.^a (Plate XI. fig. 2). The constant rule was to place one of these wide and lofty windows over each intercolumniation of the internal colonnade. It is obvious that if these immense spaces had been left open, or even glazed in such a manner as to admit as much light as a modern window, the glare would, in the climate of Rome, have been intolerable, and we accordingly find in all the early churches which are still in use that either each alternate window has been built up or that two have been stopped up and one left open. S. Balbina (Pl. XI. fig. 1) and S. Stefano Rotondo afford good instances of this. In S. Balbina, as in many other churches, even the windows not built up have been reduced to less than one-half in size.

There can be little doubt but that soon after large covered places of assembly came to be in use means were found to exclude the rain and the cold and to admit the passage of the light by the use either of glass, or of talc, mica, or other transparent minerals. A curious passage in Philo Judæus^b (*De Legatione*, s. 45) tells us that Nero caused the arched doorways of a hall or gallery in his

^a My authority for these measurements is Ciampini (*Vet. Mon.* vol. i. p. 75), who gives them in Roman palms.

^b προστάττει τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ θυρίδας ἀναληφθῆναι τοῖς ὑάλῃ λευκῇ διαφανέσι παραπλησίως λίθοις οἳ τὸ μὲν φῶς οὐκ ἐμποδίζουσιν, ἄνεμον δὲ εἴργουσι καὶ τὸν ἀφ' ἡλίου φλογμὸν.

palace, probably what in Italy would now be called a loggia, to be closed in with stones transparent as white glass; and glass windows are frequently alluded to by Martial.

Many passages of authors from this time to the twelfth century show that the use of glass did not supersede that of transparent or semi-transparent stones, but that sometimes one, sometimes the other, or both at once in the same building were used. Thus Lactantius (ob. A.D. 325) (*de Opificio Dei*, c. 8,) mentions “*fenestras lucente vitro aut speculari lapide obductas*,” St. Jerome (apud Ducange, *art. Vitreæ*) speaks of “*fenestræ quæ vitro in tenues laminas fuso obductæ erant*,” and in another passage (*Commentary on Ezekiel*, c. xli. v. 16,) says, “*Fenestræ quoque erant factæ in modum retis instar cancellorum, ut non speculari lapide nec vitro sed lignis interrassilibus et vermiculatis includerentur*,” Gregory of Tours, writing of the year 521, states that the soldiers of Theodosius, breaking into the church of S. Julien at Brioude, “*effracta vitrea ingressi sunt*” (*Hist. Franc. lib. vi. c. 10*). In Fortunatus (ob. A.D. 609) we find the passage—

“*Prima capit radios vitreis oculata fenestris,
Artificisque manu clausit in arce diem.*”—*Carm. 1.*

Anastasius tell us of Leo III. (A.D. 795—816) that both at S. Peter's and at S. Giovanni Laterano, “*fenestras ex metallo gypsino decoravit et alias fenestras de vitro diversis coloribus decoravit*,” and Leo of Ostia, writing of the church built at Monte Cassino, by Abbot Didier, before A.D. 1086, says, “*fenestras omnes navis et tituli plumbo ac vitro compactis tabulis ferroque connexis inclusit Quæ vero in lateribus utriusque porticus sunt gypseas quidem sed æque pulchras effecit*” (*Opera i. 3, c. 27 and c. 31.*)

The destruction caused by time and repairs has left us so few examples of actual windows of the earlier centuries of the Christian era,* that, although glass evidently suited for use in windows has been frequently found in the ruins of Roman villas, not only in Italy but also in England, it has been popularly supposed that its use for such purposes was unknown to the ancient Romans.

Perhaps the only instance in which a window in a complete state has been found in a house is that of the house of the Faun at Pompeii, where a plate of glass about five inches wide and originally twelve to fifteen inches long, fixed in a

* Canon von Wilmowsky of the Cathedral of Treves showed me in 1862 large quantities of pieces of glass bent and twisted by heat, which had been found close under the walls of that church, accompanied and overlaid by such other remains as to make it tolerably certain that they resulted from the burning of the church when the city was pillaged by the Franks in 420.

frame of bronze, may still be seen. Bronze frames may have been used in the larger windows, but considering the great size of those of the basilicas it may, I think, be regarded as almost certain that there was in these some kind of architectural arrangement by which the space was divided into compartments, such compartments being filled up with the "tabulæ" of bronze, wood, or marble containing the pieces of glass or transparent stone. Windows so made still exist at S. Sophia's at Constantinople, where they are divided into six compartments by an architrave and four square pillars, two above and two below the architrave, the compartments being filled with marble slabs pierced with rectangular holes for glass seven to eight inches wide, and nine to ten high, arranged in rows. (Salzenberg, *Alt-christliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopol*, pl. xvii.) Some of the plates of glass now there are not blown but cast, but it is doubtful if they are original.

The earliest references to the use of glass for windows by Anastasius are those which I have already quoted, in which coloured glass is spoken of in the time of Leo III.; but coloured glass was in such common use at Rome as early as the third century, not merely for vessels, but in architectural decorations, such as pavements and linings of walls, that its employment in windows at a very early date would not be at all surprising; I am however not aware of any proof that such was the case. M. Batissier, in a paper on glass in the "*Cabinet de l'Amateur*," (vol. ii. Paris, 1843), says, that S. Jerome mentions "*hautes fenêtres en verre de diverses couleurs*," and gives Opera, t. 7, p. 354, as the reference. I have in vain attempted to find the passage. A passage from Prudentius quoted by the same writer seems to refer not to windows but to mosaics.

In Rome but very small traces remain of arrangements for glazing windows during the period from A.D. 300 to A.D. 750.^a Ciampini in his engraving of the outside of S. Croce in Gerusalemme represents a Corinthian column dividing in the centre one of the great windows of the clerestory; this column, however, is not now to be seen. The pierced marble slab^b (Pl. XI. fig. 3) which was dug up in the convent garden, and is now fixed in a wall, measures seven feet two inches in length, almost the exact half of the width of the window, and it seems not improbable that the windows were originally fitted with similar slabs. I

^a Hübsch has given many conjectural restorations of windows, but for the most part entirely without authority and without sufficient explanation that such is the case.

^b Canina (*Ricerche sopra l'Arch. dei tempi Crist.*), in his conjectural restoration of the interior of S. Croce, places this slab as a sort of parapet to the upper arcade; but in order to occupy this position it ought, according to his scale, to be ten feet long.

could not ascertain whether the inside of the slab was so rabbeted as to fit it to receive glass, and such pierced slabs were certainly often used both in Pagan and Christian buildings without glass: some portions still remain in one of the windows of the chapel of S. Silvestro, below S. Martino ai Monti (Pl. XI. fig. 4), which I do not think was glazed.^a A similar slab may be found in the same chapel lying on the floor, measuring four feet three inches by two feet ten inches; another, four feet four inches by two feet eight inches, serves as a window to the confessional at SS. Quattro Coronati; and a third is at S. Saba. All these appear to be earlier than A.D. 750, and some of them very possibly earlier than A.D. 300.

It is however not easy to distinguish between pierced slabs intended as parts of windows and those which may have formed parts of inclosures of choirs, fronts of altars, or the like. Such slabs were known by the name of *transennæ*.^b

The sculpture on a sarcophagus in the Museum at the Lateran, to which I have already adverted (woodcut, Fig. 7), gives, it will be seen, very distinct representations of such an arrangement of the windows; and the manner in which the windows of the church in the mosaic of the apse of S. Agnese are represented is, I conceive, intended to represent a like arrangement; minute accuracy, it must be remembered, is not to be looked for in the coarse mosaic employed in such decoration.

There is one peculiarity in the construction of many of the windows of the first period, viz., that the width of the head is greater than that between the jambs of the window, in the manner shown in S. Balbina (Pl. XI. fig. 1); this construction is found in the transept of S. Pietro in Vincoli (A.D. 442), S. Stefano Rotondo (A.D. 467—483), SS. Quattro Coronati (A.D. 625—638), S. Balbina (circa A.D. 600), while in nine other churches of the same period plastering and alterations make it uncertain whether it exists or not. In the second period, it does not appear in the

^a When not glazed these slabs served the purpose of a grating, protecting the opening against entrance, but admitting light and air. In the crypt of S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, a grating of bronze remains, which, no doubt, dates from the period of the building of the church (531—549). It is composed of arcuations, with a cross in each.

^b Such slabs were in use in the classical period for parapets and the like, as well as for windows. Fragments are often found in the sites of Roman cities, and they are often represented in ancient sculptures. A good example of their use for the latter purpose will be found in *Admiranda Romanarum Antiquitatum*, Rome, 1693, pl. lxxiii. Here these pierced slabs are placed in a ring round the upper part of a circular tomb. An antique fragment, built into the wall of Canova's studio in the Via S. Giacomo at Rome, gives a good instance of their use as parapets.

churches of S. Prassede, S. Cecilia, and SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio, though these retain their windows for the most part in an unaltered state. It is however to be found in the churches of S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Francesca Romana (more anciently S. Maria Antiqua), both churches as to the date of which much uncertainty exists. In several of these instances the soffit of the arch has had a lining of tiles and cement, which seems to imply that it was originally coated with marble, for it was the practice of the Roman architects when brickwork was to be thus coated to place a layer of cement and thin flat stones or tiles over the bricks, in order to make a smooth face to which the thin slabs of marble might be fixed.

With regard to the object of the peculiar construction of the window openings which I have described above, I can only suggest—1st, that it might facilitate the construction of centering when large arches were to be turned, by affording good points of support; and 2ndly, that, if an architrave crossing the window were part of the architectural disposition in use, its ends would rest firmly upon the projections thus made.

The most usual form of window during the period from A.D. 300 to A.D. 750 was an oblong with a semi-circular head. Circular windows sometimes occur, as at S. Paolo f. l. m. (in the transept), and S. Stefano Rotondo. Hübsch has represented (pl. xvi.) a cruciform window in the latter church. Square-headed windows were also used, as may be seen in the mosaic in the apse of S. Agnese, but I do not know of any existing example.

Of windows dating from the earlier part of the second period, there are still some examples remaining in Rome; the most remarkable of these is the window represented in Plate XII. fig. 3; this is one of four in the western part of the transept of S. Prassede, which portion of the church having been shut off from the rest by a transverse wall, in order that it might serve as the lower story of a tower, has been preserved in an almost unaltered condition. This, which is the largest of the four windows, and about four feet wide, retains the marble slabs in a complete state. The upright in the centre appeared to me to be of wood; if this be so, it can scarcely be original, and has, perhaps, replaced a marble column. The openings in the slabs are rabbeted, and the pieces of tale are fixed against the rabbet by cement (Pl. XII. fig. 2). The other windows retain portions of similar slabs.

In S. Paolo f. l. m., before it was burnt, many of the windows retained marble slabs pierced with round holes; and in two churches—S. Lorenzo f. l. m. (in the present nave), and SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio—many of the windows still contain them, as shown in Plate XI. figs. 5, 6. In the first, these windows are walled up

on the inside; but the holes are filled with circular plates, probably of alabaster, which seem to be fixed with iron pins. In the latter church, the holes are fitted with round pieces of glass.

There is some reason to think that the windows in S. Paolo f. l. m., mentioned above, were not original, but inserted during one of the many repairs.

SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio would seem to have been built in the beginning of the ninth century, though the narrow elongated form of the window perhaps indicates a later date. The date of the part of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. in which these windows exist cannot be given with certainty; the first mention of it which occurs in Anastasius seems to be at the close of the eighth century.

The beautifully pierced slab represented in Plate XII. fig. 4 now forms the lower part of the balcony of No. 271 in the Corso at Rome, being placed face downwards, and supported by two brackets; it measures about six feet long by three wide. I am in much doubt as to the date to which this should be attributed: in the intricacy and delicacy of the pattern, and neatness of execution, it seems to approximate to Byzantine work; while the cord-like interlacing pattern is to be found in Roman work of the ninth century, as in the underside of the cornice over the door of the Chapel of S. Zeno, (Pl. XII. fig. 5), and elsewhere.

There is a certain similarity between this window and one remaining in the baptistery at Albenga,^a near Mentone, on the Riviera di Ponente, though the latter is very much ruder both in design and in execution. The baptistery in question can, I think, hardly be later in date than the eighth or ninth century. The little window in the tower of the church at Barnack, near Stamford, has also some resemblance in style; it is engraved in Britton's *Chronological History of Christian Architecture in England*, pl. v. fig. 4.

^a This window is a slab of marble, pierced in a pattern of circles inclosing crosses, and not glazed. Another instance of the same kind, but far more intricate in pattern and far better executed, is over the most northern of the doorways leading from the Piazza into the vestibule of St. Mark's at Venice, and in the upper story of the western part of the south side of the same church are many slabs, circular, square, and round-headed, delicately pierced with beautiful patterns which appear to have served as windows. The heads of a range of arches are also filled with semi-circular slabs similarly worked. None of these are of large dimensions, and it is a question deserving investigation whether the larger window-openings were originally filled with such pierced slabs. It would be difficult, without very careful study, to decide whether these slabs were brought from other churches (as were so many of the ornamental portions of St. Mark's), or date from the time of the building of this church.

In the *Mittelalterliche Kunstdenkmale des Oesterreichischen Kaiserstaates*, p. 118, fig. 16, is an engraving of a window found among the ruins at Grado, which in character and execution bears much resemblance to that at Albenga.

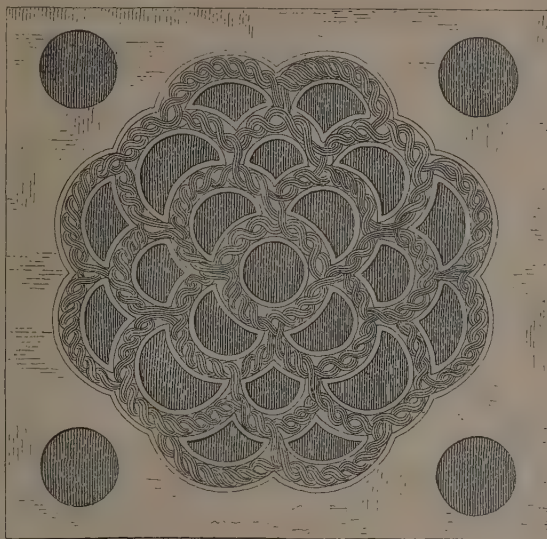
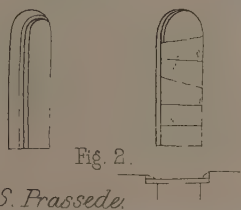


Fig. 1. *S. Silvestro a S. Martino.*



S. Prassede.



Fig. 3. *S. Prassede.*

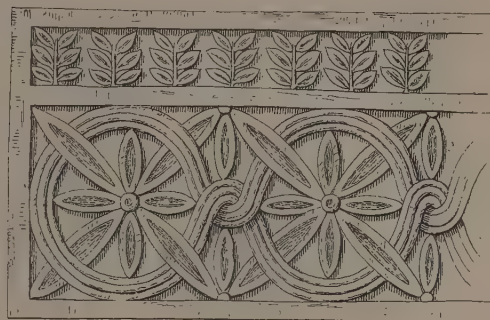


Fig. 5.

Chapel of S. Zeno, S. Prassede.

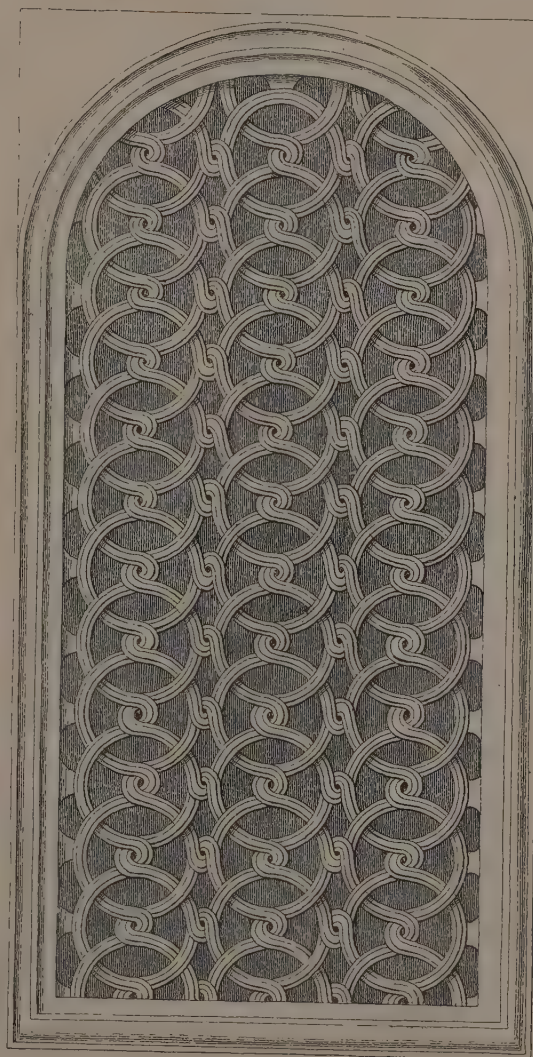


Fig. 4. *N° 27F. Corso.*

Another very curious example—if indeed it be a window or a part of one—is a slab (Pl. XII. fig. 1), which is in the chapel of S. Silvestro, below S. Martino ai Monti; the character of the ornament of this clearly places it in the eighth, ninth, or tenth centuries.

It would be difficult to find any examples of windows of dates intermediate between the churches of the beginning and middle of the ninth century and those of the early part of the twelfth. In these last we find long narrow windows; which at S. Clemente alternate with small circular ones.

10. CONFESSIONS.

The primitive form of the confession is probably that which we see at S. Alessandro, a space hollowed out below the altar, in which the body of a saint or martyr might be placed, and in many of the less altered churches, as S. Sabina, S. Maria in Trastevere, SS. Nereo ed Achilleo, &c. only a very small vault is to be found.

It is observable that Anastasius,^a when describing the works alleged to have been executed by Constantine in twelve churches in Rome and elsewhere, uses no expression implying the existence of a confession, unless perhaps in the case of S. Lorenzo f. l. m., where the Emperor, he says, “fecit basilicam supra arenarium cryptæ et usque ad corpus beati Laurentii Martyris, in qua fecit gradum ascensionis et descensionis.” Here however I do not think that a confession such as we now see in the Roman churches was then excavated, but that the church was built over the “cubiculum” in the catacomb in which the saint’s body had been placed, and a double flight of stairs constructed by which access was had to it.

In the life of Sixtus III. (A.D. 432—440), Anastasius tells us that that Pope “fecit confessionem beati Laurentii Martyris cum columnis porphyriticis et ornavit transennam et altare et confessionem de argento purissimo,” recording the transformation of the cubiculum of the catacombs into an ornamented crypt.

From the expressions Anastasius uses in describing the manner in which the bodies of S. Peter and S. Paul were inclosed at the churches built in their honour

^a It has been questioned by historians whether this part of the *Liber Pontificalis* is deserving of any confidence; I must confess my opinion that, though there may be many exaggerations, inaccuracies, or the like, Anastasius wrote, for the most part at all events, from documents. His accounts at any rate testify to the belief of his day as to what had been done at the various periods.

by Constantine, at the request of S. Silvester,^a it would seem that they remained at or very near the surface, and this is confirmed by what he afterwards tells us of S. Gregory, that he "*fecit ut super corpus beati Petri et beati Pauli Apostolorum missæ celebrarentur*," that Pope having no doubt excavated confessions so as to place the bodies below the high altars.

In the time of Hadrian I. the confession at S. Peter's was evidently a vault of some size, as Anastasius^b tells us that that Pope lined it with golden plates, with subjects in relief weighing 300 lbs.; he also mentions the altar over the confession and the stairs leading to it. His successor Leo III. covered the pavement of the confession with 453 lbs. 6 oz. of gold.^c

The confessions now existing in the Roman churches are for the most part entirely modernised, so that it is impossible to decide with any confidence upon their original plans. In some churches, as I have said above, there is merely a small vault below the high altar, a view into which is obtained through a grating or a transenna below the front of the altar.

That at S. Cecilia is either on a level with or but little below the nave, and consists of a vaulted space south of the altar (the church standing nearly north and south), a passage running round the interior of the apse, and another passage running south from the east end of the former one, but stopped by a mass of masonry supporting the high altar, within which is a sarcophagus intended to contain the body of the saint. The passages are lined with slabs of marble set on end, many of which have early inscriptions, and were probably brought from an adjacent cemetery.

The same arrangement, with the exception of the vaulted space in front of the altar, which space at S. Cecilia seems more modern than the rest, is that of the confessions of SS. Quattro Coronati and S. Pancrazio; the last of which is lined with slabs in the same manner as the confession of S. Cecilia.

The confession at S. Maria in Cosmedin is a small crypt below the raised choir, being an oblong with an apse, and sixteen small niches in the walls; the roof is

^a "*Cujus loculum cum corpus S. Petri recondidit, ipsum loculum undique ex ære cyprio conclusit, quod est immobile: ad caput pedes quinque, ad pedes pedes quinque; ad latus dextrum pedes quinque, ad latus sinistrum pedes quinque; subtus pedes quinque, supra pedes quinque. Sic inclusit corpus Beati Petri Apostoli et recondidit et ornavit supra ex columnis porphyreticis, &c.*" In like manner S. Hilarus (A.D. 461—467), we are told by the same writer, made confessions in the chapels built by him at the Lateran, which do not seem to have been underground chambers, but shrines of silver of moderate size.

^b Anastasius, de Vitis Pontificum, Vita Hadriani I.

^c Anastasius, de Vitis Pontificum, Vita Leonis III.

of flat slabs supported by six small columns with Ionic capitals and two oblong masses. The church was built between 772 and 795, and reconsecrated in 1123. It seems difficult to say to which date the crypt should be attributed.

11. FOUNTAINS, CANTHARI, WELLS, AND BATHS.

Eusebius, in his description of the church of Tyre, mentions a fountain as occupying the centre of the atrium; and a fountain, or at least a vase (cantharus), seems, during the period before 750, to have been almost always found in the atrium. Anastasius occasionally mentions the making of a cantharus, as when he tells us that Pope Symmachus (498—514), “cantharum B. Petri cum quadriporticu marmoribus ornavit et ex musivo agnos et cruces et palmas fecit;” and that the same Pope, “apud beatum Apostolum Paulum, ante fores basilicæ gradus fecit in atrio et cantharum.”^a

Of these fountains and canthari the only existing example, so far as I am aware, is a white marble vase sculptured with Christian subjects in a tolerably good style, and apparently anterior to A.D. 500, which is in the museum of the Collegio Romano. A broken vessel of stone which was found at S. Alessandro (C in plan, Fig. 2) may perhaps be a humble example of a cantharus.

Baths were frequently attached to churches.^b Anastasius often mentions the construction of them; he tells us for instance that Pope Symmachus “fecit balneum” at S. Pancrazio, and that at S. Paolo f. l. m. “post absidem aquam introduxit ubi et balneum a fundamentis fecit.” A small triangular bath in a like position was found at S. Stefano in Via Latina, as shown in the plan of the church (Fig. 1) at B.

Wells of an early date are sometimes to be found: there is one at S. Giovanni in Porta Latina;^c and another of like or perhaps earlier character at S. Giovanni Laterano; there are others at S. Bartolomeo, and in the crypt of SS. Cosmo e Damiano.

^a This writer, however, sometimes uses the word cantharus in a different sense, as in the mention of another cantharus made by Pope Symmachus at St. Peter's. The cantharus, as a vessel for water, was, perhaps, the prototype of the holy-water stoup of our medieval churches.

^b Were these baths used for baptism in cases where there was no baptistery?

^c This has also been supposed to have been a font.

12. FONTS.

I know of no example in Rome of a font which was the work of any early Christian period. The reservoir in the baptistery in the catacomb of S. Pontianus^a is a mere excavation or shallow pit. The splendid tazza-shaped vases of porphyry and marble, which Roman luxury had produced in such number, had provided an abundant supply of vessels suited to the purpose. The magnificent tazza of porphyry, forty-seven feet four inches in circumference, now in the Vatican Museum, served originally as the font in the baptistery of the Lateran. Anastasius tells us that S. Silvester covered it entirely, within and without, with silver, to the weight of three thousand and eight pounds; and that he fixed in the middle porphyry columns, supporting a "phiala" of gold, weighing fifty-two pounds, in which the Paschal candle was placed; on the lip was a lamb of gold, weighing thirty pounds, from which water poured; on the right of the lamb a figure of the Saviour, weighing one hundred and seventy pounds, and five feet high; on the left a figure of S. John the Baptist, weighing one hundred pounds; and seven figures of stags pouring out water, each weighing eighty pounds, all these figures being of silver.^b Anastasius makes repeated mention, in later times, of the silver lamps, statues, crosses, crowns, and other decorations of the baptisteries; but it does not appear that the fonts themselves were adorned with the magnificence of that of S. Giovanni Laterano.

13. PRESBYTERIA, OR CHORI CANTORUM, AND OTHER INCLOSURES.

Long before the time of Constantine, a ritual had no doubt been established in churches, and there is every probability that their internal arrangements were such as to adapt them for its use. What these arrangements were we have however no means of knowing, as no writer has described them, nor have any now existing examples of the period been noticed.

Eusebius in his account of the church built by Paulinus at Tyre, between A.D. 312 and 322, tells us that the altar and the seats of the dignitaries (probably both civil and ecclesiastical) were surrounded by highly ornamented reticular railings of wood. It is not clear whether these railings inclosed a space in front of the

^a Marchi, Monumenti delle Arti Primitive Crist., Architettura, pl. xlii.

^b Much doubt has been expressed as to the correctness of this account.

altar (supposing the altar to stand on the chord of the apse,) as well as the apse, or the apse alone; but the first seems to me the more probable supposition, as there is an obvious convenience in the setting apart an inclosed space for the numerous clergy of inferior rank, who chanted the choral parts of the service. The word *θυσιαστήριον*, which in this passage stands for the altar, in later times clearly means the sanctuary or apse in which the altar stood. In this sense it is no doubt used in the decrees of the councils of Laodicea and of Trullo; where women and laics are forbidden to come into the *θυσιαστήριον*. In the Theodosian Codex, lib. ix., tit. 45, *De Spatio Ecclesiastici Asyli*, the word *θυσιαστήρια* is used as the equivalent for "altaria," but the context seems to show that not the altar alone, but some inclosed space surrounding it, is meant. The seventeenth canon of the fourth Council of Toledo, "*Sacerdotes et levitæ ante altare communicant: in choro clerus, extra chorum populus,*" seems to shew very clearly that there were two distinct inclosures, one of the apse and the altar (the *θυσιαστήριον* or sanctuary), the other the presbyterium or chorum; this is in the year 633, but it would appear that the same arrangements existed at an earlier and also at a later date.

It would seem from the passage in Eusebius to which I have referred that these inclosures were in the earlier centuries usually of wood; how soon it became the practice to construct them of more solid materials it is difficult to say.^a Perhaps



FIG. 9. S. STEFANO IN VIA LATINA.

the earliest example which remains at Rome is a fragment (Fig. 9) which was found at S. Stefano in Via Latina (at H on the plan, fig. 1). It is worked in stucco, and the interstices are painted green. The marble capstone Pl. VIII. fig. 6 would seem to have surmounted one of the uprights which separated the (so to speak) slabs of

^a At p. 14 of "*Les Carrelages émaillés du Moyen Âge,*" &c. by Emile Amé, is a cut (copied from the work published by the Commission Scientifique de l'Algérie) representing the plan of a small basilica, discovered at D'jémilah in Algeria, which has been surmised to date from an early, perhaps even a pre-Constantinian, era. The basilica is an oblong, without an apse, and near one end is a square inclosure, with doorways on the sides and front. This, probably, is a *θυσιαστήριον*, and surrounded the altar.

which the inclosure consisted. The style of both seems to correspond very well with the middle of the fifth century, the date of the foundation of the church. Many fragments of marble slabs worked in the same manner may be seen in Rome, both in churches and built into the walls of houses, some of which may have formed portions of inclosures; they are usually about three feet wide by four to five long. The interstices are sometimes pierced through, and sometimes not; in the former case they may, as I have said before, have formed parts of windows, fronts of altars, or of confessions. A slab now in the inside of the ambo on the south side of the nave of S. Lorenzo f. l. m., the style and execution of which indicate an early date, probably once formed part of one of these inclosures.

At S. Pudenziana there was a presbyterium bearing the name of Pope Siricius (A.D. 385—396); but it was, according to the *Beschreibung von Rom*, erected by Innocent III. in the twelfth century (vol. iii. part ii. s. 258.)

The only presbyterium which in Rome has remained in a complete state is the well-known one at S. Clemente, and this is neither so early nor so unaltered as is popularly supposed. A careful examination will make it clear that the whole has been taken to pieces and not very symmetrically reset; the ambones are of different marble, and they also have evidently been altered and remade; the small desk before the lesser ambo is ornamented with glass mosaic of the twelfth or thirteenth century, and a few lines of this have been placed upon some of the slabs of the inclosure.

One of the most characteristic slabs is shown in Pl. VIII. fig. 5; the ornamentation is of a character transitional between classical and Byzantine; the monogram has been read Hadrianus, but this is clearly a mistake, as it evidently reads *Johannis* (perhaps for "*donum Johannis*"^a). Three popes of this name occur in the sixth century, John I. 523—526, John II. 533—535, and John III. 560—573; in the next century were John IV. 640—642, and John V. 685, 686. It seems to me to belong rather to the earlier than to the later of these periods.

In the period before A.D. 750 cancelli were frequently of metal. Anastasius tells us of "*cancelli argentei*," erected by Pope Sixtus III., A.D. 432—440, at S. Lorenzo f. l. m., and of "*cancelli ærei*," by Pope Hilarus, A.D. 461—467, at the baptistery of the Lateran. Of such "*cancelli fusiles*," however, no example appears to remain in Rome, but the fortunate circumstance that Charlemagne procured from Ravenna some cancelli of this kind, and set them up in the minster which he built at Aix-

^a As in the inscription put upon the *canistra argentea* which Gregory IV. gave to S. Maria in Trastevere, "*Sanctæ Dei genetrice (sic in orig.) Gregorii Quarti Papæ.*"—Anastasius, *Vita Greg. IV.*

Fig. 1.

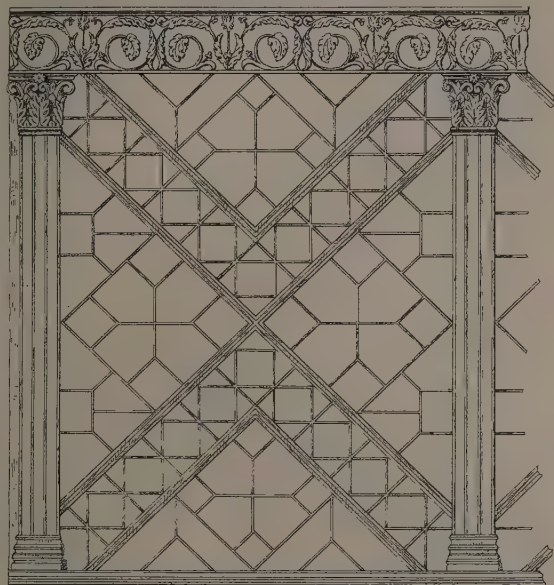


Fig. 2.

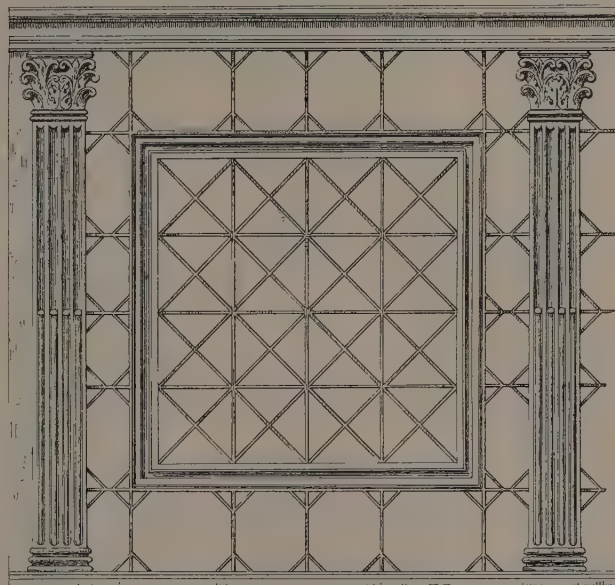
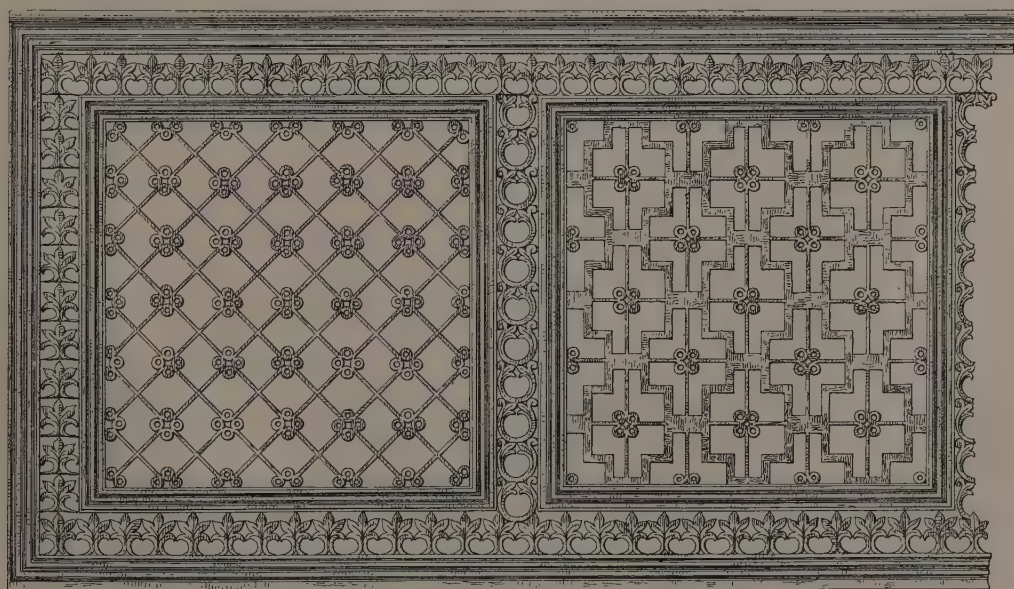


Fig. 3.



Bronze Railings.
CATHEDRAL OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.

la-Chapelle, has preserved some specimens to us. They appear to have been placed by Charlemagne where they still remain, as railings across the arches of the triforium of the western part of the church, and are shown in Plate XIII. Either a sufficient quantity of the same pattern could not be obtained, or perhaps, more probably, variety was desired, and the existing railings are of several patterns; some of these (figs. 1 and 2) are evidently of Roman classical character, while others (as fig. 3) are Byzantine. The first, which are much the best executed, are probably by several centuries older than the era of Charlemagne, while those of Byzantine character may, I think, approach it much more nearly in age.

It would seem that these chori did not always exist, or that in some cases, at least, a space was left between the inclosure of the altar and that of the chorus. Sarnelli (*Antica Basilicographia*, p. 84) says that between the ambo (which according to him is the proper word for chorus,^a) and the sanctuary was a space called "solea," higher than the ambo. Some passages in Anastasius relating to the alterations made in the eighth and ninth centuries in the presbyteria throw some light upon these questions.

Pope Hadrian I. (A.D. 772—795), he says,^b made "rugæ" of silver in the presbyterium of S. Paolo f. l. m. on the sides of the men and of the women, and other rugæ, also of silver, at the head of the presbyterium before the confession. Of Paschal I. he tells^c us that at S. Maria ad Præsepe (*i.e.* S. Maria Maggiore) he moved the episcopal chair upwards, and made such other arrangements as to prevent the future recurrence of an inconvenience which he had suffered, viz., that the crowd, and in particular women, attending the service, intervened

^a He does not give any sufficient ground for this assertion.

^b "Et rugas in presbyterio, a parte virorum et mulierum, ex argento purissimo, pensantes lib. 130; nec non et alias rugas in caput presbyterii ante confessionem ex argento, pensantes simul 104." Ducange explains *Ruga*, platea, vicus, but Anastasius evidently uses the word with a different meaning. It seems to mean railings, gratings, or perhaps gates; or, as the quantity of silver here mentioned is but small, perhaps only an ornamental railing on the top of the marble inclosure is meant. Rugæ bearing images are mentioned in another passage, and rugulæ confessionis.

^c "Pontifex summus . . . ecclesiam sanctæ et intemeratæ Virginis Mariæ Domine nostræ ad præsepe cernens quondam tali more constructam ut post sedem Pontificis mulieres ad sacra missarum solemnias stantes prope assistere juxta Pontificem viderentur, ita ut si aliquid colloqui cum sibi assistantibus voluisset ex propinqua valde mulierum frequentatione nequaquam ei sine illarum interventione liceret, largum ibidem locum inesse qualiter inde sedem mutare valeret dato operis studio cæpit indesinenter agere sedem inferius positam sursum ponere . . . Denique sedem optime quam dudum fuerat pulcherrimis marmoribus decoratam condidit, et undique ascensus quibus ad eam gradiatur construxit, pavimentumque altaris erigens pretiosissimis marmoribus stravit."

between him and his assistant clergy. It would seem that the choir must have stood at some distance below the altar, and that there was free access to the crowd between the "caput presbyterii" and the altar.

In the time of Gregory IV. (827—844) the altar at S. Maria in Trastevere stood, we are told,^a in a low place almost in the middle of the nave, so that the Pontiff and his clergy, when celebrating mass, were mixed up with a crowd of both sexes, and at the same time the bodies of SS. Calixtus, Cornelius, and Calepodius lay in one of the aisles. The Pope, therefore, made a vault within the apse, in which he placed the bodies of the saints, and, raising the ground around it, made a handsome "tribunal" for the use of the officiating clergy. Over the confession the altar seems to have been erected, with steps on each side. In front of the confession he constructed a "presbyterium amplum," and on the northern side of this a "septum matroneum."

The three slabs represented in Plate XIV. figs. 1, 2, 3, together with some others of the same character, remain embedded in the pavement of the nave, and the style of the ornament corresponds so well with the period that I think there can be no doubt but that these are remains of the works executed by Gregory IV.

The successor of Gregory, Sergius II. (844—847), Anastasius tells us, constructed at S. John Lateran an "ambitum altaris" of ampler size than that which had before existed, and adorned it with columns, and marbles sculptured "in gyro." This expression "in gyro" seems to refer to the twisted and

^a "Nam prius altare in humili loco situm fuerat pœne in media testudine, circa quod plebs utriusque sexus conveniens, Pontifex cum clero plebi confuse immixto sacra misteria celebrabat. Sed et sancta corpora Calixti et Corneli et Calepodii in mediana plaga Ecclesiæ tumulata post tergum populi jacentia non condigne honorificabantur. Quod religiosissimus idem Papa non leve tulit, sed solerti solitoque studio cum intima industria operam adhibens, mirificum opus inchoans optime consummavit. Nam effosso clandestine antro summa cum reverentia prefata sancta corpora elevans in occidentali plaga ejusdem Ecclesiæ, hoc est in ambitu absidis, honorifice collocando occuluit; circa quoque maximæ molis aggravans aggerem, comptum ministris lapidibus tribunal erigens decoravit.

"Supraque confessionem respicientem ad ortum solis miri odoris (? nitoris) celaturas ornatu compagine cooptavit. Infra consurgentem siquidem basin altaris miri metri, et ornatus modulo ex argento perspicue in honorem Sanctæ Dei genetricis semperque Virginis Mariæ, e lata scilicet priori, erexit inter consurgentes pulchri operis gradus. Ante quam presbyterium amplum operosi operis funditus construxit. Qui ex septentrionali plaga lapidibus circum septum matroneum adposuit."

^b "Nam ambitum sacri altaris qui strictim in ea (i.e. basilica Constantiniana) fuerat olim constructus largiorem proprio digito designans a fundamentis perfecit, pulchrisque columnis cum marmoribus desuper in gyro sculptis splendide decoravit. Ubi nunc sacra plebs in administrationem sacri largiter consistit officii."

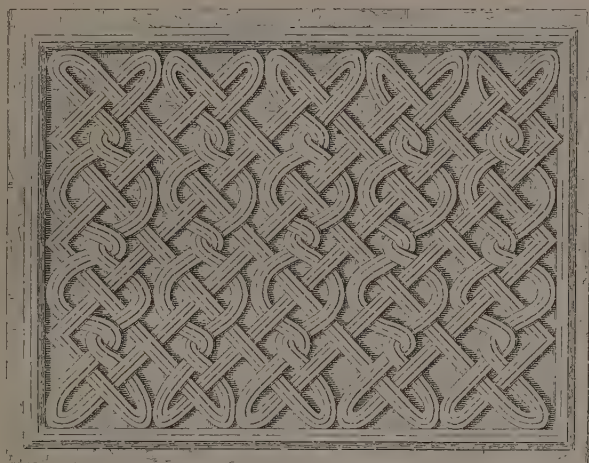


Fig. 1. *S. Maria in Trastevere.*

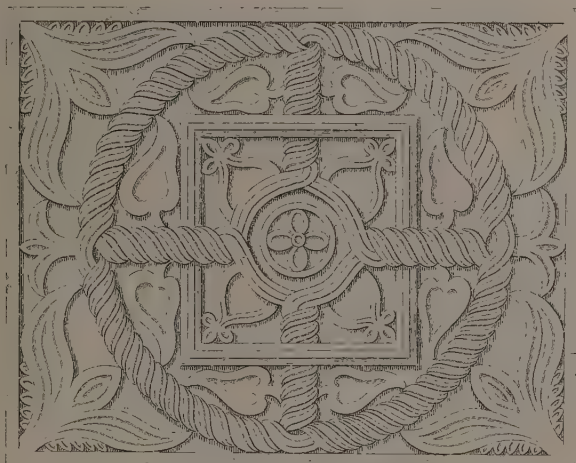


Fig. 2. *S. Maria in Trastevere.*



Fig. 3. *S. Maria in Trastevere.*



Fig. 4. *Colosseum.*



Fig. 5. *S. Stefano in via Latina.*

circular ornaments which, as may be seen on the slabs at S. Maria in Trastevere, were at this time much in use.

In the cloisters of S. Giovanni Laterano are many fragments of marble slabs sculptured in this style, which very probably are remains of this "ambitus."

Other instances of the erection of "presbyteria," during the eighth and ninth centuries, may be found in Anastasius. He also tells us that Leo IV. (A.D. 847—855) renewed the ancient decrees of the church against laics entering the presbyteria during the solemnization of the mass,^a and it was no doubt the feeling which this decree manifests as prevailing among the clergy at this time which led to the construction of so many of these inclosures during these centuries. Though only one, that at S. Clemente, remains in a tolerably entire state, in two churches, S. Maria in Cosmedin and S. Lorenzo f. l. m., slightly raised platforms exist at the altar end of the naves, which no doubt mark the situation of the "presbyteria;" and I have observed remains more or less perfect of either the posts or the slabs which have composed such inclosures in or about no less than thirteen Roman churches. These fragments in eleven cases were ornamented in the style characteristic of this period.^b

These churches are—1, S. Maria Maggiore; 2, S. Antonio Abbate; 3, S. Maria in Araceli; 4, S. Sabina; 5, S. Gregorio; 6, SS. Giovanni e Paolo; 7, S. Giorgio in Velabro; 8, S. Maria in Cosmedin; 9, S. Giovanni Laterano; 10, S. Martino ai Monti; 11, S. Lorenzo f. l. m.; 12, S. Stefano in Via Latina; 13, S. Maria in Trastevere.

In No. 1 the quatrefoil windows of the southern end are cut out of slabs ornamented with interlacing work.

In No. 2 a post with ornament of the same character is used as a bracket under a figure of a sphinx on the front.

In Nos. 3 and 11 slabs are worked up into the ambones, that in No. 3 having remains of a cross of plaited work.

^a As at St. Peter's, by Leo III. (795—816): "Pontifex secundum antiquam consuetudinem canonica auctoritate decrevit atque constituit ut dum sacra missarum solemnina in Ecclesia celebrantur nullus ex laicis in presbyterio stare vel redere aut ingredi præsumat, nisi tantum sacra plebs quæ in administratione sacri officii constituta videtur."

^b Some fragments, ornamented in this style, are fixed into the walls of the conventual buildings at S. Clemente, and others at the foot of the stairs in the Palazzetto Poli, Rome.

One fragment of a similar character is too curious to be passed over, although there seems no reason to connect it with any church. It is the marble post (Pl. XIV. fig 4) which was found a few years ago with some other fragments of like kind in the Coliseum. The work, it will be seen, is of the

In No. 4 fragments are fixed in the wall of the vestibule leading to the north-eastern entrance to the church.

In Nos. 5 and 13 slabs form part of the pavements.

In No. 6 posts with interlacing work are used as imposts in the arcade surrounding the apse.

In Nos. 7, 9, and 12 the fragments are lying loose in the churches, cloisters, or vestibules. One of the fragments in S. Stefano in Via Latina, is represented in Plate XIV. fig. 5.

In No. 8 a part of a post is used to eke out a shaft in the tower on the south side.

In No. 10 a part of a post is inserted in the wall of the court in front of the church. It is represented in Plate VIII. fig. 8.

The eleven instances in which the fragments seem to belong to this period are Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, and 13.

In seven instances, viz., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 11, and 13, they are used as material in ambos, pavements, or other constructions, which there is good reason for attributing either to the twelfth or the thirteenth centuries, from which it would seem that in Rome they fell into general disuse about that time. In Naples Sarnelli says they continued to be in use until towards 1551. (*Antica Basilicographia*, p. 77.)

There is, I believe, a tolerably complete presbyterium still existing in the cathedral of Sessa, Terra di Lavoro, and traces of one may be found in the cathedral of Salerno.^a

rudest style, and it is strange to find such a sculpture in such a place. Cav. de Rossi suggested to me that it perhaps originated from some repair made to the Coliseum to fit it for the celebration of games, and that the figure might represent a player at the game of *pallone*, a game played with a large ball, which from time immemorial has been in vogue in many Italian cities, and which excited feelings of rivalry and partizanship which may be compared to those of the blue and green factions of the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

^a A very curious slab, somewhat Byzantine in style, is in the church of Atrani near Amalfi; at the cathedral of Sorrento several slabs are inserted in a wall; these are ornamented with eagles, lions, and griffins, one with two winged horses drinking at a fountain, a reminiscence, no doubt, of some antique sculpture in which Pegasus drinking at Hippocrene was represented, while a post bearing the inscription MAT is used as a pinnacle of the façade.

A great many slabs, which have formed parts of such inclosures, are to be found in St. Mark's at Venice, some fixed in the walls on the outside, others used as parapets in front of the galleries; they are of various styles, and probably of very different dates; many were probably brought from Greece, where like slabs may be seen, as in front of the church of Theotokos at Constantinople; others, perhaps, from Aquileia. The pulpit is made up of slabs of porphyry, with little ornament except crosses of the form usual in the

It is well known that it was an ancient practice to separate the sexes in the churches. S. Chrysostom (Hom. 74) speaks of the use of wooden partitions for this purpose as an usage existing before his time, and the "pars virorum" and "pars mulierum" are frequently mentioned in Anastasius, two instances of which occur in the passages quoted above; the southern side was usually allotted to men, the northern to women. A part at the end nearest the altar was divided off and set apart for the persons of either sex of more exalted rank. This portion on the men's side was called Senatorium, on the women's side, Matroneum. No trace of either seems now to exist in any Roman church, though the matroneum and septum matroneum are not unfrequently mentioned by Anastasius; one at S. Paolo f. l. m., he says, was made by Pope Symmachus (498—523), and I have quoted above a passage in which the making of one on the north side of S. Maria in Trastevere by Pope Gregory IV. is spoken of.

These arrangements were however probably not always the same. Where large galleries existed, as at S. Agnese, SS. Quattro Coronati, and elsewhere, it is not unlikely that these may have been set apart for the use of women, a passage quoted by Bingham (Orig. Christ. vol. iii. p. 171,) from Gregory Nazianzen, shows that such was sometimes the practice.

14. AMBONES.

Although something in the nature of an ambo or desk no doubt existed from very early times, no example of a very early date exists in Rome. Bunsen

5th or 6th centuries. Some of the posts, with interlacing ornaments of the character of that used in the 8th and 9th centuries, may be seen in the upper part of the vestibule of St. Mark's; and some portions of slabs, rudely worked with knot patterns, are used as entablatures to the columns in the same place.

In front of S. Fosca at Torcello are some slabs approaching very closely in pattern to one of those at S. Clemente at Rome (Pl. VIII. fig. 5), and very curious examples may be found in or about the churches at Ravenna; particularly at S. Apollinare Nuovo, where they perhaps date from the 6th or 7th centuries. Some slabs with crosses and plaited ornament are built into the wall of a house in the eastern suburbs of Ventimiglia, between Nice and Genoa, having, probably, belonged to a large church which is nearly opposite; and other fragments of both slabs and posts are over the doorways of the cathedral of Albenga, not far from Ventimiglia.

Don Jose Amador de los Rios, in his essay on "El arte Latino-Bizantino en Espana," has given an engraving (pl. iii. fig. 7) of a fragment much resembling the slabs at S. Maria in Trastevere, which was found among the remains of the basilica of S. Gines at Toledo, a church, probably, of the 8th century.

Careful observation may not improbably discover fragments of like objects when excavations are made near churches of early date in this country.

(*Basiliken des Christlichen Roms*, p. 48) thinks that the ambones were originally moveable. So much of the church furniture in the earlier centuries was of wood that it is not improbable that the ambones were also of that material.

The earliest mention of an ambo which has been noticed is in Anastasius, who mentions the existence of one in the time of Pelagius at S. Peter's (555—559); one of marble preserved in the Cathedral at Ravenna,^a was erected by Archbishop Agnellus, (558—566); and that existing at S. Apollinare Nuovo in the same city has been attributed to the sixth or early part of the seventh century. If Platner (*Besch. von Rom*, vol. i. s. 435) is correct in thinking that the lesser ambo at S. Clemente is of the same date as the inclosure or presbyterium, we have in this an example probably as early as or earlier than that at Ravenna. To me it did not seem to be of the same work as the inclosure. It however appears to be the earliest example remaining in Rome, as the others, such as those at S. Lorenzo f. l. m., and S. Maria in Araceli, are evidently not earlier than the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. One of exactly the same style which formerly existed at S. Pancrazio bore the date 1249. (Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* pl. xiii. p. 24.) The twisted columns and glass mosaics with which they are ornamented furnish decisive proofs of their date. That of S. Clemente, which has been mentioned above, is furnished with two desks, one, at the top of the steps, turned towards the altar, the other, below the steps, turned in the contrary direction. Platner thinks that the higher of these was intended for the reading of the Gospel, the lower for the Epistle, and observes that in the old church of S. Peter there does not appear to have been at any time more than one ambo, a continuance in his opinion of the ancient usage.

A full account of the manner in which the ambones of the twelfth or thirteenth century were used will be found in Ciampini.

15. ALTARS AND CIBORIA.

In the Russian, and I believe in all or most of the other Eastern churches, the altar is of wood; and the tradition of the Roman church testifies that in it, also, the earliest altars were wooden, for the altar in S. Giovanni Laterano, the "*mater et caput ecclesiarum*," the cathedral of the Bishop of Rome, which is said to have been used by S. Peter himself, is of wooden boards.^b Bingham

^a In the cotemporary inscription upon it it is called "*pyrgus*."

^b See Webb's *Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 508.

(Orig. Eccl. vol. iii. p. 189) has collected several passages from the writings of S. Augustine of Hippo, and of Optatus, in which altars of wood are mentioned. Ludolph, in his History of Ethiopia, cites Gabriel Biel and Father Telley to the effect that up to the time of Silvester the only altars in use were wooden chests, carried about from place to place wherever the Roman bishop had his habitation. Padre Marchi considers that the "arcosolia" of the catacombs were in very many cases used as altars during the times of persecution, and often constructed expressly with that view.

It seems clear that the Christians never took the pagan altar as a model, but followed two types, which they sometimes combined. These two are the table, no doubt the earliest, and the tomb; the latter being used after persecution had driven them to the catacombs. The tomb was probably first used as an altar partly as being conveniently at hand when the Eucharist was celebrated in those narrow oratories in which the remains of the more distinguished victims had been honoured with sepulture in arcosolia (or, as we should call them, altar-tombs), and partly on account of the passage in the Revelations (chap. vi. v. 9), "I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God."

It is not surprising that, when Christianity emerged from the catacombs and occupied the splendid structures which Imperial piety provided for the celebration of its rites, the tomb-like form was retained in affectionate remembrance of the martyrs in the vicinity of whose venerated remains the Eucharist had been wont to be celebrated. The feeling which prevailed on this subject in the fourth century is well shown in the often-quoted verses of Prudentius (Hymn. Peristeph. S. Hippol. vers. 169—174):—

Talibus Hippolyti corpus mandatur opertis
Propter ubi apposita est ara dicata Deo.
Illa sacramenti donatrix mensa, eademque
Custos fida sui martyris apposita,
Servat ad æterni spem judicis ossa sepulcro,
Pascit item sanctis tibricolas dapibus.

The table form nevertheless remained in use, as may be seen in the mosaics of the dome of S. Giovanni in Fonte and the baptistery of the Cathedral of Ravenna, which date from about 451, where altars are distinctly represented as tables with small columns as legs.

The utter abandonment of the site has fortunately preserved for us one example of an altar probably not more than half a century later in date than the mosaics of S. Giovanni, that in the ruins of S. Alessandro, on the Via Nomentana. It

was discovered at A, in the plan given above (Fig. 2), and is represented in Plate VIII. fig. 7, with the various parts put together as I suppose they must have originally stood. Beneath it is a shallow grove lined with marble, in which the body of S. Alexander was no doubt placed, and from which it was removed to S. Sabina. The square hole in the middle of the cancellated front was probably used for the purpose of placing cloths, "brandea," upon the receptacle which contained the body of the saint, a well-known practice in the earlier ages. The front bears an inscription, a part of which is lost; what remains reads: ET ALEXANDRO DELICATVS VOTO POSVIT DEDICANTE AEPISCOP. VRS. The name wanting at the beginning is supposed to be Theodulus, who was also buried here. Ursus is supposed to have been a Bishop of Nomentum. Two of the bases of the columns which were found close to the altar bear the inscriptions: IVNIA SABINA CF EIVS FECERVNT, and SANCTORVM ORNAVIT.

At the time that altars with cancellated fronts were in use it seems to have been customary to suspend a veil over the front. Ciampini (vol. ii. p. 57) states that in his time there was in a crypt below the church of SS. Cosmo e Damiano an ancient altar: "cum duabus columnis ac epistilio et corona; nec non sub ipso epistilio annuli sunt ferrei e quibus vela pendebant."

An altar is now shown in this crypt at which S. Felix (269—274) is said to have officiated. It is described to me as placed in a niche, and consisting of a sepulchral tablet inverted and placed on a fragment of a cornice.

It would seem that it was during the fourth and fifth centuries that the use of stone altars gradually superseded that of wooden ones. The twenty-sixth Canon of the Council of Epone, A.D. 509, orders "Altaria nisi lapidea infusione chrismalis non sacrentur," (Bingham, Orig. Eccl. vol. ii. p. 154); and it subsequently became an established rule in the Roman Church that no altar should be consecrated unless it contained relics. It is evident that in the earlier ages, when to divide the body of a saint into small portions (as in later times was so common a practice^a) was looked upon as sacrilegious, the wish to make the altar also the tomb of the saint^b led at once to the use of the tomb-like instead of the table-like form.

Many instances of the magnificence of decoration which was expended upon altars may be found in Anastasius. Thus Constantine, he says, made at the

^a A most curious account will be found in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the manner in which the body of Saint Otho, Bishop of Bamberg, was divided and portioned out after his canonization.

^b "Romanus episcopus tumulos eorum (sc. Petri et Pauli) Christi arbitratur altaria."—St. Jerome, *ad Vigilantium*, t. ii. p. 395.

sepulchre of S. Helena an “altare in argento pensans libras 200”; and at S. Croce in Gerusalemme, an “altare aureum quod pensat libras 240;” Pope Hilarus (461—467) made at S. Lorenzo f. l. m. an “altare argenteum pensans libras 40;” Leo III. (795—816) at S. Giovanni Laterano, “altare majus miræ magnitudinis decoratum ex argento purissimo pensans libras 69.”

In these, and I believe in all the numerous like cases which Anastasius mentions, we are either expressly told that the altar was *decorated* with silver or gold, or the quantity of metal employed is evidently quite insufficient to furnish the sole material. We are however nowhere told of what the altars were constructed. Antique sarcophagi of porphyry, serpentine, basalt, or the more beautiful marbles, often form part of the altars in the Roman churches, and may have long been so used, but probably not until after the practice of taking the bodies of saints from their original resting-places and placing them in churches had become established.

The ciborium, baldachino, or canopy over the altar is not mentioned by Anastasius in the careful catalogue which he gives of the offerings presented by Constantine to twelve churches said to have been constructed by him at Rome and Naples, nor does any mention of one occur until the time of Symmachus (498—514); this Pope, he says, made at S. Silvestro a ciborium of silver weighing one hundred and twenty pounds. Honorius I. (626—638) made at S. Agnese a ciborium “æreum deauratum miræ magnitudinis.” After this date they are very frequently mentioned, and are almost always described as of silver or decorated with silver. The quantity of metal employed varies greatly: for instance, one at S. Paolo f. l. m., is said to have been decorated with two thousand and fifteen pounds of silver; that at S. Peter’s, of silver gilt, weighed two thousand seven hundred and four pounds three ounces; and that at S. Giovanni Laterano only one thousand two hundred and twenty-seven pounds. All these were erected by Leo III. (795—816). The minute account of this last which is given by Anastasius is worth attention; it runs thus: “Hic (Leo) fecit in basilica Salvatoris quæ appellatur Constantiana cyborium cum columnis suis quatuor ex argento purissimo diversis depictum historiis cum cancellis et columnellis suis miræ magnitudinis et pulchritudinis decoratum.”

The “cancelli” can hardly be anything else than railings running from column to column and inclosing the altar; the “columnellæ” would seem to have formed a small colonnade, placed on the architrave, borne by the four large columns and bearing a pediment, as in the existing ciborium at S. Clemente.

Ciboria of marble are not so often mentioned by Anastasius, but he tells us

that Sergius I. (687—701)^a replaced the wooden one at S. Susanna by one of marble; and another of the same material is mentioned as having been placed in S. Andrea Apostolo by Pope Leo IV. (847—855). Some fragments of marble ornamented with mosaics are preserved in the crypts under S. Peter's (the Grotte Vaticane), and are said to be portions of a ciborium given to that church by Pope John VII. (705—737).

Though they do not properly belong to my subject, I cannot omit to notice the alabaster columns of the ciborium of the high altar at S. Mark's at Venice, which are said to have occupied the like position in the chapel of the Greek Emperor at Constantinople, and to have been brought from thence when that city was taken by the Crusaders. These columns are covered with sculpture, the subjects of which are taken (for the most part, if not entirely) from Biblical History, with Latin inscriptions. The costume of the figures corresponds closely with that to be seen on monuments of the fifth century, such as consular diptychs, particularly in the large fibula worn point upwards. In the Crucifixion the two thieves are represented, but our Saviour is symbolised by a figure of a lamb occupying a circle in the centre of a cross, the ends of which are wider than the rest of the limb; this form of cross is constantly found in works of the 5th, 6th, and, perhaps, 7th centuries.

None of the ciboria now existing in Rome would seem to be of very early date; that at S. Lorenzo f. l. m. bears the date 1148; that at S. Clemente would seem to be of a not very different date. The one at S. Lorenzo, now finished with a dome, in other respects closely resembles that at S. Clemente, which I have mentioned above, and probably had originally, like it, pediments on two sides. S. Giovanni Laterano and several other churches have ciboria of very elegant thirteenth and fourteenth century gothic.

^a At page clxxxi of "*Museum Veronense*" are engravings of columns which, from the inscription upon them, must have belonged to a ciborium erected in the time of King Liutprand (712—744); they are preserved in the Museum at Verona.

Perhaps the earliest complete ciborium now existing is that in S. Apollinare in Classe at Ravenna, the inscription on which testifies that it was erected in the time of Archbishop Valerius (806—810). It has four columns of marble, supporting slabs cut into arches; the ornaments are bands of interlacing work, peacocks, and crosses, in shallow relief and of poor execution.

16. CATHEDRÆ, OR EPISCOPAL CHAIRS, AND BENCHES FOR THE CLERGY.

The Cathedra or seat for the bishop was placed in the centre of the circumference of the apse, and from this, or from a "faldistorium" placed in front of the altar, he preached. In Rome every basilica has a cathedra; some of these are antique chairs of marble, as at S. Stefano Rotondo, SS. Nereo ed Achileo, &c.^a

In S. Cecilia is a cathedra (Fig. 10) very plainly constructed of slabs of marble,

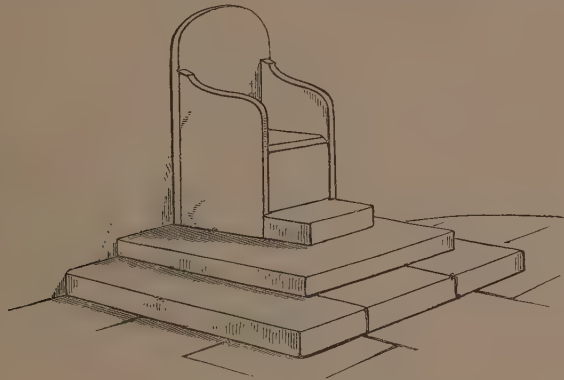


FIG. 10. CATHEDRA IN S. CECILIA.

indeed altogether without ornament, which may have been constructed by order of Pope Paschal I. when he rebuilt the church. It very closely resembles the chair in the cathedral at Aix-la-Chapelle, which is supposed to have been placed there by Charlemagne.

It would seem that in the earlier centuries curtains were affixed to the cathedræ, for S. Augustine uses the expression "cathedræ velatæ" (Epist. 203, apud Ducange), but in what way these veils were attached does not appear from any existing cathedra; probably a canopy like the ciborium of an altar stood over the chair. Such an arrangement is still in use in the Greek Church; and the cathedra of the Patriarch of Moscow is thus protected. Several of the basilicas have a marble bench running round the apse; I cannot say whether these are

^a The "Cathedra Petri," which was inclosed by Pope Alexander VII. (1665—1667), in the chair of bronze upheld by colossal statues of doctors of the church in the apse of S. Peter's, is of wood covered with sculptured tablets of ivory separated by bands of minute ornament executed in gold. It has a high back, but no arms, and has rings at the sides through which staves, by which it might be carried, could be passed. Among the subjects of the ivory carvings are various constellations and the Labours of Hercules.

in any case of any considerable antiquity, but if not old they are no doubt reproductions of an ancient arrangement.

17. TOMBS.

The earliest Christian tombs at Rome of which we have any knowledge are the "loculi" in the catacombs, excavations in the sides of the galleries or oratories large enough to contain a corpse, and closed with tiles or slabs of marble fastened to the tufa with cement. But few of these slabs bear inscriptions, for, though some thousands of inscribed slabs have been preserved and a great number destroyed,^a these bear but a very small proportion to the myriads of loculi which the catacombs contain, and when galleries of unviolated tombs are discovered, the great majority of the slabs are found to be destitute of inscriptions. In the earlier centuries even the Bishops had no more stately memorial than one of these loculi with a slab bearing a rudely executed inscription of the name and office; examples may be seen in the cemetery of Callixtus, where the Cavaliere de Rossi a few years since discovered the chamber in the walls of which the remains of Fabianus (A.D. 238—254) and other bishops of Rome of the same century were deposited.^b

The "arcosolia," or altar-tombs, with an arch excavated in the wall over them, are no doubt generally of later date; in these sarcophagi are sometimes found, the bodies within which are swathed in bands of linen much after the fashion of an Egyptian mummy. The soffit of the arch and the wall of the recess within it are often painted with symbols or subjects from the Scriptures.

The numerous marble sarcophagi, sculptured with Christian subjects, which are to be seen in the Museum at the Lateran and elsewhere in Rome, have, I believe, been almost all brought from the catacombs. They may range in date from the third to the sixth century, and, though they vary in point of goodness of style, they are rarely very rude; one of which the date seems well ascertained is that of Junius Bassus in the crypt of S. Peter's; he died in 359, and the style of the sculpture is tolerably good.

^a The church builders of the dark and middle ages at Rome used these memorials with as little scruple as any modern churchwardens might do; fragments are constantly to be seen in pavements, as at SS. Quattro Coronati, where the pavement is full of them, or in the construction of ambones, as at S. Lorenzo f. l. m., and great quantities no doubt exist in like positions, the faces of which are hidden.

^b See in De Rossi *Roma Cristiana Sotterranea*, vol. i. pl. iv. fig. 2, an engraving of the memorial of S. Cornelius; the inscription is "CORNELIUS · MARTYR · EP."

Until the time of Leo I., who died in 462, all the Popes were buried in the catacombs, with the exception of two, whose interments took place in basilicas which they had built above ground in connection with some of the catacombs. Leo I. was buried in the vestibule of the sacristy of S. Peter's, and from this time his successors were almost always buried in the same church. The example set by the Popes was gradually followed, and interments in churches and within the walls of the city became by degrees more and more common. One of the slabs which lines the confession at S. Cecilia bears an inscription engraved in a fine large character, in which it is stated that Theodorus Grecus Vizantinus (*i. e.* Byzantinus) had bought a "locum" from the Archpresbyter of S. Cecilia, "Heraclio Consule," *i. e.* A.D. 611. As there is no catacomb near the church, it seems clear that the interment must have been either in the church or in an adjacent cemetery. The catacombs however no doubt continued for a long time to be used as places of interment.

At S. Lorenzo fuor le Mura is a large sarcophagus, on which is a vine sculptured in low relief, in the branches of which are birds, genii, &c. It is of rude but very early work, and is said to have contained the body of S. Damasus. If this be true, it was probably brought from the chapel which he built near the Via Ardeatina.

Pagan sarcophagi were no doubt often used during the dark and earlier as they were during the later middle ages as parts of sepulchral monuments, but frequent "restorations" have left scarcely any trace of monuments earlier than 1150.* Ciampini has given engravings (pl. xlv.) of two which stood in the portico of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. and which have the appearance of belonging to an early date; one is in the form of an antique temple, with four square piers on each side; the other has fluted piers and an upper story, the whole forming a sort of canopy over the actual gravestone. These, he thinks, were the edifices known as "basiliculæ," perhaps the prototypes of that peculiar type of tomb of which the well-known tombs of the Scaligeri at Verona are the most remarkable examples.

* In the original entrance to the baptistery at Albenga (between Nice and Genoa) are two monuments, one in the wall on each side, which have the same form as the arcosolia of the Roman catacombs. The front of the tomb and that of the wall within the arch of one of these are covered with slabs of marble, ornamented with plaited work and crosses, and in the style characteristic of the 7th or 8th centuries. The other monument is quite without ornament. I was unable to find any inscription on either.

POSTSCRIPT:

It was my original intention to have added to this communication the documentary evidences of the dates of the various churches which have been mentioned, and to have endeavoured to show how far these elucidate the history of the buildings as they exist. I have, however, reason to believe that this will be so well and completely done by John H. Parker, Esq., F.S.A., in his forthcoming work on Rome, that I think it unnecessary to attempt it here; I shall therefore confine myself to a few observations upon two churches which exhibit remarkable peculiarities of construction, those, namely, of S. Lorenzo fuor le Mura (otherwise "in Agro Verano") and of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio.

The first of these^a consists of a portico at the west end, a nave and choir, both with aisles, and a tower and small porch on the south side. The nave has on each side a range of eleven columns; eight of these are uniform, or very nearly so, while the other three are of much larger diameter; all have uniform Ionic capitals, carrying a horizontal entablature, over which are flat segmental arches of tile, and over these a cornice. There is a clerestory, with twelve windows on each side; the breadth of these windows is to the height about as 1 to $1\frac{3}{4}$; they are filled with marble slabs, pierced with round holes. (Plate XI. fig. 6.) Many of the windows have been walled up on the inside, and in some of these round plates of alabaster, as it would appear, remain. The clerestory is constructed of brick; the portico and that part of the nave-walls which extends as far as the eight lesser columns, of stone; the more eastern part, according to Ciampini, is constructed "tumultuarie ex diversa materia" (Vet. Mon. vol. iii. p. 115.)

At the eastern end of the nave is a triumphal arch, through which the presbytery is entered; this consists of a central choir, and an aisle carried along the sides and across the east end. The columns are very fine antique Corinthian, and support richly sculptured antique entablatures; over these is an arcade of Corinthian columns, of lesser size, supporting arches, and above these a clerestory. On the capitals of the columns of this upper range are heavy blocks, rounded off below. The central space has been filled up to about half the height of the columns, and its floor is considerably above the level of the nave, and still more above that of the aisle. Recent excavations have disclosed the

^a Plans and engravings will be found in "Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms," by Gutensohn and Knapp (text by Bunsen); in "Die Alt-Christlichen Kirchen," by Hübsch; in "Chiese di Roma," by Fontana; and in "Vetera Monumenta," by Ciampini.

original pavement in the north aisle and the bases of the columns. The former, as has been already noticed (*ante*, fig. 5), is formed of slabs of marble inclosing squares of very coarse white mosaic, each having a single line of mosaic of dark stone, making a four-leaved ornament. The bases were ornamented with a cross and two rosettes in low relief (*ante*, fig. 6). The exterior of this part of the church is of tufa and tiles alternately; that of the east end, according to Ciampini, is of tiles alone. The pavement of the choir is a very beautiful example of the mis-called opus Alexandrinum, and in all probability coeval with the ciborium of the altar, which, as an inscription upon it informs us, was erected in 1148.

On the eastern face of the triumphal arch are mosaics; and in the wall above it on each side a window, in which are pierced marble slabs. These windows, however, now look not into the open air but into the nave.

The historical notices which we have of this church are the following. In the *Liber Pontificalis* we find that Constantine the Great made a “*basilica supra arenariam cryptæ et usque ad corpus B. Laurentii Martyris, in quo fecit gradum ascensionis et descensionis, in quo loco construxit absidam, et exornavit marmoribus porphyreticis,*” etc.

Pope Sixtus III. (432—440), it is stated in the same work, “*fecit confessionem beati Laurentii Martyris cum columnis porphyreticis, et ornavit transennam et altare et confessionem S. Martyris Laurentii de argento purissimo. Fecit altare pensans libras quinquaginta, cancellos argenteos supra platonias porphyreticas pensantes libras trecentas. Absidam super cancellos cum statua B. Laurentii Martyris argentea pensante libras ducentas. Fecit autem basilicam B. Laurentio quod et Valentinianus Augustus concessit,*” etc.

Some verses published by Gruter, p. 1173, No. 1, attribute the cutting down of the hill beneath which the church stands and other improvements to Galla Placidia (415—450), and contain this passage:—

Præsule Pelagio Martyr Laurentius olim
Templa sibi statuit tam pretiosa dari.

This may possibly refer to Pelagius I. (555—559); but the *Liber Pontificalis* in the life of Pelagius II. (572—590), states that he “*fecit super corpus Beati Laurentii Martyris basilicam a fundamentis constructam,*” etc.

Pope Gregory I. (lib. iii. ep. 30), says “*Sanctæ memoriæ decessor meus ad corpus S. Laurentii Martyris quædam meliorare desiderans,*” etc.

Pope Gregory II. (714—731) repaired the church. (*Lib. Pontif.*)

In the life of Hadrian I. in the same work, we find the basilica or basilicas of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. thus noticed: "Fecit in ecclesia beati Laurentii Martyris foris muros, scilicet ubi sanctum ejus corpus requiescit, vestem de stauracin; et in ecclesia majore aliam similiter fecit vestem."

"Præsul in basilica majori quæ appellatur S. Dei Genetricis qui aderat juxta basilicam beati Laurentii Martyris atque levitæ, ubi ejus sanctum corpus requiescit foris muros, obtulit vela," etc.

"Almificus pater eandem basilicam S. Laurentii Martyris, ubi sanctum ejus corpus requiescit, annexam basilicæ majori quæ dudum isdem presul construxerat ultra citroque, a novo restauravit."

Of Pope Leo IV. (847—855) we are told that "porticum quæ ante basilicam sanctæ Dei Genetricis consistit, quæ juxta basilicam S. Laurentii sita est foris muros, clarius ac firmiter renovavit."

Besides these historical notices, we find the basilica mentioned in ancient itineraries (vide De Rossi, *Roma Cristiana Sotterranea*, tom. i. p. 176, *et seq.*) In the itinerary in the Salzburg Codex (now No. 795, Imperial Library, Vienna), which probably dates from the seventh century, "Postea pervenies ad ecclesiam S. Laurentii; ibi sunt magnæ basilicæ duæ in quarum quis speciosiore et pausat;"^a in that contained in the "*Libri de locis sanctorum martyrum*" from the Salzburg and Wurtzburg Codices, probably also of the seventh century: "Et prope eandem viam ecclesia est S. Laurentii major, in qua corpus ejus primum fuerat humatum, et ibi basilica nova miræ pulchritudinis ubi ipse modo requiescit."

If we endeavour to trace the history of the existing building with the help of these notices, we can, I think, hardly fail to conclude that the original crypt was within the present choir, which stands on a site evidently cut out of a steep bank or hill side; and it is possible that the columns and entablatures which we see in the choir are those employed in the building erected in the time of Constantine. The pavement, the bases, and the blocks over the capitals point however to a complete reconstruction in the fifth or sixth centuries.

The language of Pope Gregory does not seem quite to agree with the statement of the *Liber Pontificalis*, that Pelagius entirely rebuilt the basilica from the foundations. The character of the ornament of the bases seems almost too good for the end of the sixth century, and it is possible that in them we have the work of the time of Galla Placidia, and that Pelagius only rebuilt the external walls

^a There is here a lacuna in the MS.; the sense is no doubt that the body of the saint rested in the more splendid of the two basilicas.

and decorated the triumphal arch with the mosaics, parts of which still exist, and contain a figure of that Pope carrying a model of the church.

It will strike every one who considers the plan of this church that there must have been an apse west of the triumphal arch, and there is actually space sufficient for two apses to have stood, one facing to the east, the other to the west, upon the space now occupied by the three easternmost columns of the nave. Thus there would have been two churches each complete and distinct from the other, by the union of which the church was brought into the form in which we now see it. The basilica now converted into the nave is believed by the Cavaliere de Rossi, (*Roma Crist. Sott.* vol. i. p. 145) to be the "basilica B. Laurentii" built according to the *Lib. Pontif.* by Sixtus III. and the "basilica major" of the itineraries. It can I believe be shewn by the evidence of ancient rituals that the two basilicas stood apse to apse. The consistent and regular style of the colonnade of the nave and its horizontal entablatures are features belonging to the architecture of the fifth rather than to that of a later period.

It has been supposed by some writers that the nave was built by Honorius III. (1216—1227); but this seems highly improbable, for there are examples at Rome which shew that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the style of architecture in use was that employed elsewhere in Italy, round-arched in the twelfth, and pointed in the thirteenth century.

Hadrian I. (772—795) repaired and restored the basilica where the saint's body reposed, and is stated to have constructed the "basilica major." This is probably too strongly expressed; but it seems probable enough that he built the clerestory of the greater church, and made the windows in the wall over the triumphal arch of the "basilica nova."

The statement in the second itinerary that the body of St. Laurence had first been buried in the "ecclesia major" must I think be an error.

At what period the apses were pulled down and the two churches thrown into one does not appear to have been ascertained; but it seems probable that this alteration was made in the ninth or tenth centuries; for at the eastern part of the nave is a platform raised about a foot above the level of the rest of the nave and aisles, which no doubt once formed a "chorus cantorum," and as such was adjusted, not to the altar of the "basilica major," but to that of the altar of the other church. The pavement upon this platform is of the same character as that of the choir, and no doubt dates from the same time, A.D. 1148.

As I have already shewn, very many of these chori were made in the eighth

and ninth centuries, and many were destroyed in the twelfth; we may therefore I think reasonably assign the union of the churches, and the probably subsequent construction of the platform, to the intervening period.

On the frieze of the portico at the western entrance of the nave are some small half-length figures in mosaic, one of which an inscription indicates as Pope Honorius III. who may therefore be assumed to have built, or at least rebuilt, this portico, as we have seen there was already one in this position in the time of Pope Leo IV.

That the original dedication of the "basilica major" should have been lost sight of, after the altar had been removed and it had become the nave of the other church, will not appear surprising.

The other church which I propose to mention, that namely of SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio (alle tre Fontane), was originally founded by Pope Honorius I. (625—638); but (as we find in the *Liber Pontificalis*, *vita Hadriani I.*) entirely burnt, together with the adjacent monastery, in the time of Hadrian I. (772—795). That Pope the writer of the *Liber Pontif.* goes on to say "a flammiferis ruinis erutam a novo in meliorem statum prædictam ecclesiam cum vestiario et egumenarchio cæteraque ædificia renovavit atque restauravit."

In 1140 Innocent II. gave the church and convent to S. Bernard, and in 1221 the church was repaired and re-dedicated by Honorius III.

The church as it now exists is unique among the churches of Rome.^a It consists of a vestibule or portico, a nave with aisles, a short transept, to the east side of each arm of which two small chapels have been added, and a short choir with a rectangular east end. The portico is of the same width as the nave and aisles, is of brick, and supported by four columns with Ionic capitals. These carry a horizontal architrave, over which are elliptical discharging arches. The walls of this portico are of brick.

The nave is divided from the aisles by a range on each side of nine square piers carrying arches. Both piers and arches are without any ornament except a moulding at the springing of the arch. The arches are low, and carry a lofty wall pierced by eight windows on each side. These are round-headed, and the external opening is about twice as high as it is wide. They, as well as the five windows of the west front, are filled with marble slabs pierced with round holes, which are now, and probably always have been, glazed. (Plate XI. fig. 5.) A circular

^a Plans and engravings will be found in the works of Gutensohn and Knapp, and of Hübsch quoted above.

window on the west front has no such slab. The exterior of the clerestory wall has shallow strip buttresses.

The aisles have a plain groined vaulting; the nave shows the commencement of the springing of a waggon-headed vault, which it is calculated would, if completed, be not semi-circular in section, but of a blunt pointed form.^a A vault of this last form covers the choir and transepts.

The transepts are lower than the nave, and the choir somewhat lower than the transepts; both are entered by plain low circular arches. Three windows are in each end of the transept, and three, with a circular window above, in the end of the choir, and in the wall above the choir. The central window of the three in the choir is much larger than the other two, and a quatrefoil has been inserted in the circular window.

The clerestory of the nave is of brick of good work; the walls of the aisles, and of the choir and transepts, of alternate courses of tufa and brick.

It will be seen at once that there is much resemblance between the clerestory of S. Lorenzo f. l. m. and the clerestory of this church; while the plainness and absence of ornament of the piers and arches is exactly what we find in other buildings probably erected about the same period, such as the minster at Aix-la-Chapelle^b or the Basse Œuvre at Beauvais, or the church of Saint Martin at Angers,^c which last was founded in A.D. 819.

Comte de Montalembert has pointed out that the plan of the eastern part of this church is the same as that of the earlier Cistercian churches in France, viz. a presbytery square at its east end, and two square-ended chapels projecting from the eastern wall of each transept.

If, as is alleged, the chapels in this instance are manifestly additions, we must look to an earlier date than 1140 for the building of the main mass; and it seems to me that there is nothing in it inconsistent with the period of Pope Hadrian I., except the pointed arches of the vaults of the choir and transept, and the square ending of the choir. We should certainly expect to find a church built at Rome about A.D. 800 ending with one or more apses. If this church had originally an

^a It is however not so drawn by Gutensohn and Knapp. Has the curve ever been actually measured?

^b The part of the Minster at Aix-la-Chapelle which has remained in the least altered state is the interior of the belfry over the entrance: here are perfectly plain square-edged arches, supported by piers without any ornament except simple mouldings at the base and at the springing of the arch. The vault is a plain barrel.

^c See Gailhabaud, *Monuments Anciens et Modernes*, vol. ii.

apse, and was brought into its present form in 1140, we must suppose that the architect carefully imitated the style of the original building, a practice certainly very unusual with medieval builders. The style is certainly very unlike that of the few examples of the twelfth century which exist in Rome, as the cloisters of S. Giovanni Laterano, and S. Paolo f. l. m., which are in a style corresponding with our late transition Norman.

The insertion of a quatrefoil into the circular window at the east end was no doubt part of the work done in the time of Honorius III.

XIV.—*History of Winterton, in the County of Lincoln, by Abraham de la Pryme ; with an Introduction by EDWARD PEACOCK, Esq., F.S.A., the owner of the original Manuscript.*

Communicated January 22nd, 1863.

THE volume which I have the honour of exhibiting to the Society is the original manuscript of Abraham de la Pryme's History of Winterton, in the county of Lincoln. It consists of twenty-six small quarto leaves, one of which is blank ; they are stitched together in a cover of marbled paper. Of its history I know little. It was given to me by my friend the late Venerable William Brocklehurst Stonehouse, Vicar of Owston and Archdeacon of Stow, the historian of the Isle of Axholme. He found it, about thirty years ago, in a cottage in one of the villages near Owston. There can be no doubt that the manuscript is the autograph of de la Pryme. The handwriting corresponds in every respect with that of other documents known to have been written by him.

Abraham de la Pryme was the grandson of Charles Pryme, a gentleman of noble lineage, an exile from the city of Ypres, who settled on the Level of Hatfield Chase, in the west riding of Yorkshire, in the early part of the reign of Charles I. His object in going there was to assist Sir Cornelius Vermuyden and others in the gigantic drainage works which had recently been undertaken in that region, and to occupy a portion of the reclaimed lands therein. Charles Pryme had two sons,—Abraham, who was probably the first born, and who has left no memorial except his mere name, and Matthias or Matthew. This person lived upon the Levels, and married Sara Smague, a French lady, and an exile from Paris for the reformed religion. Abraham de la Pryme, the antiquary, was the first fruit of this union. He was born on Monday the 15th of January 1672. His education was completed at Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in January 1694. In the early part of the year 1695 he was residing with his father on the Levels in the parish of Hatfield, and, having taken deacon's orders, preached his first sermon in the neighbouring church of Kirk Bramwith. He shortly afterwards

became curate to Mr. Hammersley, the rector of Broughton, near Glanford Briggs, in Lincolnshire; and from this period to his death devoted himself with the utmost earnestness to the study of local history and physical science. His diary, kept at this time with great exactness, I have not had the opportunity of consulting; the late Mr. Hunter, who had carefully examined it, informed me that it contains a very carefully written account of all the objects of antiquity and curiosity which De la Pryme saw during his sojourn in Lincolnshire.^a

During his residence at Broughton he communicated to the compilers of the "*Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*" an account of his own MS. collections. This list is an evidence of his great industry as a compiler and transcriber. Some of the volumes, if now in existence, would be of much interest. One of them, which Mr. Hunter, perhaps without sufficient authority, suggested that he had committed to the flames, must have been a record of no ordinary curiosity. Its title, from which we can alone judge of its contents, was, "*Curiosa de Se, or the Curious Miscellanies, and private thoughts of one inquisitive into the knowledge and nature of things. Enrich'd with great variety of matter both Curious, Profitable, and Pleasant; with a few cursory notes.*" Even at this early period of his career his mind was directed towards the history of his native district; for we find among his papers, as here recorded, a complete transcript of the depositions of the inhabitants of the Isle of Axholme, taken in the year 1642-3, as to the ancient state of the Level of Hatfield Chase, before it was begun to be drained by the Dutch and Flemings. He also communicated for publication in this catalogue the titles of several manuscripts, now unhappily lost or in unknown custody, to which he had had access.

After spending a period a little short of two years on his Lincolnshire curacy, he returned to Hatfield, and there pursued earnestly his topographical labours. His collections for a history of his native place yet exist among the Lansdowne Manuscripts. No. 898 is a folio volume composed entirely of topographical and physical notes for this purpose, and 899 is a small note-book in his handwriting entitled "*Historia Universalis Oppidi et Paroch. Hatfieldensis; or y^e History and Antiquitys of y^e Town and Parish of Hatfield.*" It is, however, notwithstanding its title, little more than a table of contents. The perfect work, so far as De la Pryme lived to complete it, is contained, although in a sadly mutilated condition, in a folio volume No. 897 of the same collection.

^a Cf. Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. i. p. 180. The title of De la Pryme's diary is, "*Ephemeris Vitæ Abrahami Pryme; or, a Diary of my own life.*" In 1828 it was the property of W. J. Bagshawe, Esq. of the Oaks, in Norton, co. Derby.

In September 1698 he again left his native place to become curate to Mr. Banks, the vicar of the church of the Holy Trinity at Kingston upon Hull. Here he remained until October 1701, employing that portion of his time which was not occupied in the duties of his sacred calling in compiling a history of that town and its neighbourhood,^a in corresponding with learned men,^b and in arranging and transcribing the ancient records of the borough.

In October 1701 he was presented with the perpetual curacy of Thorne, by which change he received a slight augmentation of income, and became possessed of what he probably valued far more, a greater portion of leisure.

His correspondence with Sir Hans Sloane had begun before this time; there is evidence that they were known to each other, if not personally at least by letter, when De la Pryme was curate of Broughton. Two of his most interesting communications to the Philosophical Transactions must have been written from his Lincolnshire curacy. Several of his letters to Sloane have been preserved; they mostly relate to his communications to the Royal Society. Matters of antiquarian interest are, as the habit was in those days, frequently blended with details of observations of natural phenomena. In a letter dated Thorne, January 24, 1701-2, he tells Sir Hans that two old men of that neighbourhood who got their living by digging up timber out of the peat moss had told him that "they did once find two old-fashioned bucklers under one tree, and some humane bones under another." These were probably specimens of the circular bronze shields of Celtic times, of which a specimen was found in a similar situation on Burringham Moor, on the eastern side of the Trent, about twenty years ago.

Only two of De la Pryme's letters are perhaps sufficiently important to re-pro-

^a A transcript of this highly important work was among Warburton's collections. It now forms 890 of the Lansdowne Manuscripts. The title is "The History, Antiquities, and Description of the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull. Being the Annals of the sayd Towne by A. de la P." The second part is called "A short account of the Religious Houses, viz. The Monasterys, Frierys, Colleges, Hospitals, Guilds, and Lands given to pious uses, that either have been or are within the Town and County of Kingston upon Hull." The third is entitled "A short history of all the Towns that are in the County of Kingston upon Hull, to which is added also a brief account of Dripole, Sutton, and Cottingham." Another transcript of the first part only exists in the British Museum, "ex legato J. Banks, Bart." It forms Additional MS. 8936. Edward S. Wilson, Esq. of Melton, near Hull, possesses a copy of a portion of De la Pryme's Hull Collections. The original MS. was in De la Pryme's own possession when Bishop Kennett compiled his Collections.—See Lansd. MS. 972, f. 87.

^b See Thoresby's Diary, ed. Hunter, *passim*. Sir Philip Sydenham, Bart. of Brympton, co. Somerset, and Hackness, co. York, writing to Mr. Banks, the Vicar of Holy Trinity Church, Hull, says that he is indebted to De la Pryme for copies of Epitaphs at York.—Nichols's Illust. of Lit. Hist. vol. iv. p. 77.

duce here. They all of them are well worth study as illustrations of the character of an earnest, hardworking, and deeply religious man of letters. What is here given is sufficient to indicate his pursuits and aspirations. The Society he alludes to was, as it will be seen at once, the Royal Society.

Munday, Decemb. 1, 1701.

Honouřd Sir,

I am exceedingly glad that my last Letter found that universall acceptance in y^e Society that you was pleased to notify unto me concerning the same, unto the members of which I most humbly Present both my Hearty thanks & furdur service.

I have no Fir Cones at Present by me, but shall take care to get you some as soon as ever I can; they are y^e Easiest to be met with upon Digging of New Dikes or y^e Dressing of old ones, y^e doing of either of which works is only performed in summer. I am Wonderfully surprised at y^e last lines of your Letter, of Desireing Leave to propose me for a member to y^e society. It is a thing that I never Durst think of nor expect, always accounting my self to be utterly unworthy of so great an Honour. But seing that you are pleased to think otherwise of me (which I am Infinitely obliged to you for), & seeing that I can not deny you any thing, I most humbly submit my self to what you please, & shall be always ready to y^e utmost of my power to Promote y^e Excellent Designs & Ends of so Noble and Honourable a Foundation, which I pray long may flourish & never want encouragers.

Nothing will trouble me so much as not haveing y^e Happiness to be present at your frequent Assemblys.

If y^e Society should chuse me, pray be so kind as to let me know, whether it be customary to Return them a Letter of thanks & what stile and title I shall give them, that I may not commit any error.

And whatever Admission Fees, Dues, or Duties to any one, or annual Payments to y^e Society there is, I shall most willingly and Readily pay y^e same upon Demand.

I am,

Honořd Sir,

your most obliged,

Most Humble,

& Affectionate

Friend & Servant,

A. DE LA PRYME.

To the Honořd D^r Hans Sloan,
at his Lodgings near
Bloomsbury
Square,
London,
present.

Hono^rd S^r,

Thorn, Jan. 18th, 170³.

Since I writ last unto you, I have been presented with two of those strang Beads that are called Gleinean Nadroeth in Welsh, or Adder's Beads, exactly like those figured & Describ'd by a very Learned & Ingenious Man, an Honour to his Nation, in his most excellent Additions to the Welsh Countys, in y^e new edition of y^e Famous Cambden,^a who is Inclined to believe them to have been Amulets or Beads of y^e old Druids. This made me very curious of them, & to prize them exceedingly, as oftentimes y^e Learnedest of men are apt to do things that they take to be of great Antiquity. But since then reading y^e Learned Anselm Boetius of Gems,^b he has convinced me that what I so mightily esteem'd are nothing but Verticels or Glass Beads form'd on purpose to Wind thread on, & for y^e more expedition sake, & that they may both better be held between the Thumb & y^e forefinger, & y^e thread y^e better fasten'd at y^e Bottom, they have Holes made on purpose through them; he further observes that they were used both by y^e Bohemian & Belgic Women in his Time, & some aged people have informed me that they can remember their use in this Country.^c

To y^e Hon^rd D^r Hans Sloan,
near Bloomsbury Square,
London,
(present).

I am, Hon^rd S^r, your most obliged
Friend & Serv.,

A. DE LA PRYME.^d

^a Gibson's Camden, vol. ii. p. 64.

^b The passage referred to is as follows: "Anguim lapis apud Bohemos celebratur, forma est rotunda, crassitudine minimi digiti pueri sexennalis, in medio foramen habens tam amplum, ut prædictus digitus immitti possit, quod altera parte latius est. Lapis colore est croceo obscuro, oculos exacte formatos in externa superficie, variis coloribus ornatos, vivi oculi instar habens, is tamen color qui iridem referre debet, cæruleus plerumque est. Bohemi conflare à multis anguibus concurrentibus putant, ac singulos oculum formare. Propterea ab iis Duchanek vocatur, quasi dicas spiritalem, aut ex spiritu, vel flatu confectum lapidem. Existimant gestantem ab omni veneno, aëre pestilenti, fascinationibus, ac incantationibus immunem reddere. Verum falluntur vehementer, cum lapis iste ab illis in tanta autoritate habitus, non lapis, sed vitrum sit hac forma conflatum, ac mulierum verticillus, qui fuis dum fila trahunt adhibetur, ut pondere facilius vertantur, ac motus diutius perseveret. Memini me ante triginta sex annos, cum puer in Belgio viverem, innumeros hujusmodi verticillos apud mulieres vidisse. Caveant itaque ab impostoribus qui falsa pro veris obtrudunt in posterum Bohemi, nec sibi tam facile imponi sinant."—*Gemmarum et Lapidum Historia*, quam olim edidit Anselmus Boetius de Boot Brugensis, Rudolphi ij Imperatoris Medicus. Nunc vero Recensuit Adrianus Toll. Lugd. Bat. m. dc xxxvi. Cap. clxxiii. p. 346.

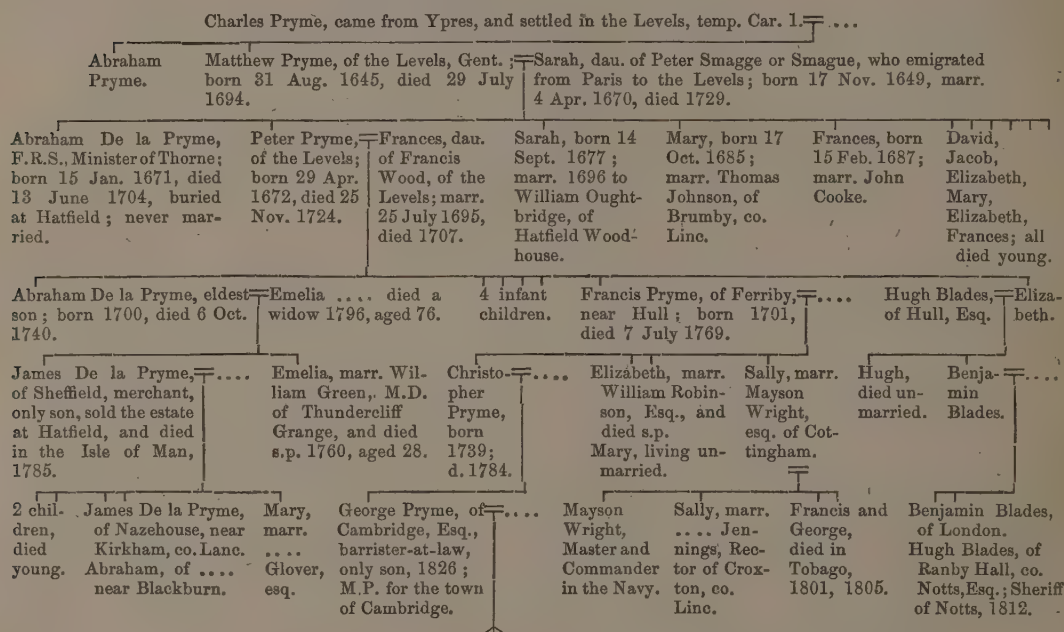
^c The distaff and spindle were in common use in this country during the sixteenth century, and probably to a much later period. Among the church furniture destroyed at Wroot, in the Isle of Axholme, co. Lincoln, A.D. 1566, was one "crwet whearof was made wharles for spindels."—See the editor's "English Church Furniture, &c." p. 170. The distaff and spindle are still used by the women of the Pyrennees and of some parts of Germany. It seems they have been employed in recent days in the Highlands of Scotland. John Yonge Akerman, Esq. F.S.A., in his very learned and interesting paper on the Distaff and Spindle in the 37th vol. of the *Archæologia*, states that a friend of his once saw a woman there using a small potatoe as a wharrow or spindle-whirl.

^d Sloane MS. 4056, fol. 31-33.

De la Pryme did not long enjoy the leisure that Thorne afforded him. He died unmarried on Tuesday 13 June 1704. He was buried in the family burial-place in Hatfield church.^a

At the time when Mr. Hunter wrote his History of South Yorkshire he was not able to give a pedigree of the family. In after years he compiled one and left it for future publication among his Yorkshire Collections. It is to be found at p. 283 of a volume entitled "*Familiae Minorum Gentium*," which forms No. 24,458 of the Additional MSS. in the British Museum. It is as follows:—

PEDIGREE OF DE LA PRYME.



The Arms of De la Pryme, as given upon the monument in Hatfield church, are, Azure, a sun argent. His letters are sealed with a seal charged with the like bearing.

George Stovin of Winterton, to whom this manuscript once belonged, as is evident by his signature on the cover, and the autograph note at the end, was a member of a gentilitial family that had long been settled at Tetley in the Isle of Axholme. He died in 1780, at the age of 85, and was buried in the chancel of Winterton church. No stone is now remaining to mark the exact spot. Mr.

^a See Hunter's South Yorkshire, vol. i. p. 190, where the monumental inscription is given.

Stovin published little, but he was the author of a very laborious compilation still in manuscript. It consists of a volume of 411 closely written pages containing a collection of transcripts of all the documents he could obtain that in any way related to the drainage of the Isle of Axholme and the Great Level of Hatfield Chase. This valuable manuscript was, in the year 1839, in the possession of Mrs. Stovin, the widow of the Reverend James Stovin, D.D., late rector of Rossington, county of York.*

EDWARD PEACOCK.

A Short View of y^e History and Antiquities of Winterton. At y^e Request of Thomas Place, Gent. of y^e sayd Town, Collected by A. P., Min. of Thorn, 1703.

Winterton, formerly call'd Wintrington, is one of y^e Antientest Towns in this part of y^e Country; as not only appears from a great Roman Street or High Way that run's from Lincoln thither, and so into Humber; but also from y^e many Roman Tyles, Bricks, and Coins that are frequently plow'd up & found there.

Who were its most Antient Lords & Chief Inhabitants is altogether now unknown. Time haveing long ago deprived us [of] y^e Gratification thereof.

Neither can we Discover what its first Name was, that which it now Enjoys being nothing but a Saxon one, which 'tis probable was Imposed both upon it & its Neighbour Wintringham from y^e Dains several times Wintring there when they so oft over ran & Destroyed this part of y^e Country.

In 797 a Great Fleet of them came into y^e Humber & plundered y^e whole Country from y^e sea to y^e River Trent, & haveing thereby got a very great Booty return'd home with great Joy.

In 838 another Fleet of them was driven into y^e Humber by Storm, which occasioning y^e loss of many both of their Men & Ships, they were so Enrag'd thereat that in all y^e Northern parts of this County they shew'd neither Distinction nor Mercy, but put all to y^e sword, men, women, & children.

But in 867 there came a far greater Number of them both for Ships & men into this Famous River; who, after that they had plunder'd y^e Country on both sides y^e same, sail'd upwards to York, & after a most bloody fight took that antient Citty, slew two kings therein & many thousands of y^e Common people, makeing y^e rest swear Fidelity to them.

After this they march'd from Town to Town, & Citty to Citty, through y^e

* Stonehouse's History of Isle of Axholme, pp. 426—429. Hunter's South Yorkshire, vol. i. p. 181.

Heart of y^e whole County, for many years together, plundering every House & every place they came at; so that haveing got a most prodigious Booty, they did in the year 873 march off with y^e same into Lincolnshire, & sent most of it into Denmark, but as for themselves they Winter'd in most of y^e Towns in Lindsey, & had their Head Quarters at Torksey upon Trent, where they remained near three years, making Inroads into & plundering y^e whole Country round.

Now it was that they got such footing in this County that they had everything at Command. They seiz'd upon all y^e Nobles & Gentlemens Houses, Lands, Estates, and Possessions that they pleas'd; made themselves Lords of great Towns & Manours, & caus'd them to be call'd after their Names, which many of them in this part of y^e County bear to this day, y^e Tenants of all which they made swear Fealty unto them & pay their Rents unto them, & yet for all that were never Quiet, but continually committed y^e greatest Barbaritys that can be Imagin'd.

In 937, Anlaf y^e Dane, y^e son of Sitric King of Ireland, with Constantine King of Scotland, and a very great Fleet and Army, came into y^e aforesayd Fatal River of Humber, & Immediately Landing, plunder'd all y^e English they met with, but, Marching through y^e Heart of y^e Country to Brunford, was there encounter'd with by King Ethelstan, who gave them such a terrible Overthrow that therein was slain y^e Scotch King, five petty Kings, 12 Dukes, and a vast number of common people.

Yet, for all this, y^e great Armys of y^e Dains, that were in other parts of y^e Country, desisted not from their daily Ravages & Tyrannies, which in succession of years grew so great & Intollerable, that the people being no longer able to Endure them, they universally agreed one winter to murder them all in a night as they lay dispersed in their quarters, and that which is y^e more strang is, that they perform'd y^e same without y^e least suspition or Discovery, which as soon as their Country men in Denmark and Sweden heard off, they were so enraged thereat, that they came over in whole swarms together, Burning, Murdering, and Destroying all before them.

Which was
done on S^tnt
Bricies
night, being
the 12 day of
Novem^r,
anno 1012.
(Marginal
note in manu
Geor.
Stovin.)

Rob. of
Glocest.
Hist. Poet.
Angl. MS.

So thylk hii com
Yat yis Londe ya gan oferfull
has hit wer Emettes
crepyng fro hur Hull,
hii ne sparyd Prest ne Clerk
Yat hi ne slaw to ground
ne Wemen wyth chyld
Wherso hi hem found.^a

^a This differs considerably from the text as edited by Hearne. See Bagster's reprint, 1810, p. 296.

Which Proseedings put y^e whole nation into such a fright that they were forced to send Ambassadors to them to begg a Peace, to grant them 60,000 ^l a-year, & Free dwelling amongst them.

Yet, for all this, they were not content, but Continually committed new Ravages, & haveing sent for new Recruits, Swain, King of Denmark, came with them in Person in 1013, with a great Fleet into y^e Humber, & sailing up the Trent to Gignesburg^a (which was but just then growing up out of y^e Ruins of Torksey), Landed there, & took possession thereof. After having awhile rested his men, he marched with most of them into y^e Heart of y^e Country as far as London & Oxford, plundering all y^e Cittys, Towns, Monastrys, Churches, and Houses that he came to; and, haveing got a very great Booty, returned with y^e same towards y^e latter end of y^e year to Gignesburg to winter there, where he was no sooner arrived but that falling sick he departed this life upon y^e 3d of y^e Nones of February.

To whom succeeded Canut his son (who was left in Garrison, as it were, all y^e last year at Gignesburg aforesayd, to defend their Fleet & aw y^e Country), whome they Immediatly proclaimed & Crowned King.

Whilest matters went thus on here, Ethelred, that was then King of England, hearing of Swain's Death, raised mighty forces, & haveing march'd with them into Lincolnshire, either to force y^e Enemy to a Battel or else to their Ships, they very wisely Considered that it was best for them to carry all their Treasure aboard, & get off as fast as they could, which accordingly they did, taking with them all y^e Gentlemen's sons they had in Hostage, whose Hands, Ears, and Noses haveing most barbarously cut off, and set a shore, they then steered for Denmark. But comeing again soon after, with a greater number both of ships & men, they conquer'd all before them, and in y^e End Crowned this Canut King of y^e whole Land.

The Danish Line, after haveing continued 24 years under y^e sayd Canut, Harold, & Hardy Knut, y^e Saxon regain'd Possession in Edward y^e Confessor, who forced all y^e Dains out of y^e Land, & Setled y^e Nation in a most happy Peace, which lasted above Twenty years. Towards y^e Latter end of which Tosti Earl of Northumberland, being forced to fly y^e Nation for several Tyrranies and Oppressions, Enter'd into Confederacy with y^e Dains, & brought a great fleet of them into the Humber, who, Landing upon y^e Lincolnshire shore, burnt all y^e Towns & murder'd all y^e People they came to; which as soon as Edwin Earl of Mercia & Morchar

^a Gainsborough.

his Brother heard off (who were then Lords of Barton, Barrow, Caster, Kerton, Driffild, Bridlington, Pickering, Pocklington, & many other great manours on both sides y^e Estuary), they immediat[ly] rais'd y^e whole Country, & marching against them bravely, forced them to sea again.

But y^e next year Harfager, King of Denmark, & y^e said Tosti, haveing joyned forces, came again into y^e Humber with 300 sail, went up the Ouse, Landed at Richal,^a marched towards York, & at Fulfirth^b defeated y^e Faithfull Edwin and Morchar; But King Harold comeing up soon after to their assistance, Revenged their Loss by a totall Defeat of all their Forces, & y^e slaughter both of y^e Dainish King & this Rebellious Earl, at Stamford Bridge, Ebor.

No sooner had he overcome these Enemys, but that he heard that a greater than they, to wit William Duke of Normandy, was Landed in y^e South with 50,000^d men, against whome he immediatly march'd, & joyning battel before that his forces were any thing at all refresh'd, he there lost his Life, with 67,974 common Soldiers; & thereupon Duke William was Crowned King in his room. In the 3d year of whose Reign Knut, y^e son of Swain King of Denmark, came into y^e Humber with 300 ships & a great Number of Men, &, haveing ruin'd & plunder'd y^e Country on both sides that famous River, pass'd on to York, took that Citty, & got therein a vast Booty, with which they returned to their fleet, that then lay between y^e Trent & y^e Ouse, in Marshland, & designed to Winter there; but, hearing that King William was comeing with a great Army against them, they immediatly took ship, and sail'd away as fast as they could.

At Adling-
fleet, so
called from
them.

Yet for all this, y^e year after, Swain himself, King of Denmark, haveing gather'd together both a great Navy and Army, came in person with most of his Nobles in y^e aforesayd Famous Estuary, & haveing plunder'd y^e Country on both sides & got a Vast Booty, at length made them all swear allegiance to him, thinking to secure his Possession; but upon more mature thoughts he conceived it best for him to get off as fast as he could, which haveing done, he sail'd home, &, blessed be God, neither he nor none of his successors came there any more to this day.

So that now William y^e Conqueror haveing y^e whole Nation at Command begun to unbethink himself, how he might gratify his Favourites, Officers, & Soldiers that had assisted him in his great Expedition, & thereupon made them all Nobles & Gentlemen, giveing them great Estates over y^e whole Country, turning thousands of Antient, Great, and Rich Familys out of all their Posses-

^a Riccal near Selby. Florence of Worc. *sub anno*.

^b Fulford near Bishopsthorpe. Simeon of Durham, *sub anno*.

sions to bestow them on his Retinue, and amongst others gave to one Norman de Areci, commonly call'd Darcy, 33 Lordships in this County, amongst which this of Winterton is expressly named as one.

Who dying, left it & other Possessions to Robert, his son & Heir, who founded y^e great Priory of Nocton, in this County, for Black Cannons, about y^e year 1140, & endow'd it with about 50*l* a-year. To whome succeeded Thomas, his son & Heir, who was a great Benefactor to y^e abovesayd Lands & Churches thereto. In whose time William Lord Vesci erected a small house & chappel for Cannons & Nuns of y^e Gilbertine Order at his Manour of Wintringham, & to them gave his Manour house & two Mills there. After this, y^e aforesayd Thomas dyd in y^e 22^d Year of Hen. 2^d, & left his Estate to

Thomas, his son & Heir, who held 20 Knights Fees of y^e King, & of one S^r William de Percy, whose onely Daughter he had marry'd, for which he attended y^e King in all his Warrs in France, & therein got great Honour and Renown. But dying about y^e year 1196 was succeeded by his son

Norman call'd y^e 2^d of that name, who being one of y^e Barons that took up Armes against y^e King had all his Lands and Manours Seiz'd upon (amongst which this of Winterton is particularly mentioned as one), & given to S^r Peter de Warcop. But Peace soon after Ensueing he had them all Restored. In his time Hugh de Nevil, Lord of Raby, gave y^e King 20 Marks and a Palfry of 5 Marks' value for leave to Marry Desiderata, y^e daughter of S^r Stephan de Camara, Lord of Glemford Bridg,* in Lincolnshire, & for Liberty to hold a Market there & a fair once every year for three days; y^e aforesaid Norman dying left all his great estate to Philip his son & heir, who was a great soldier & a very Valiant Man. He served King Hen. y^e 3^d all his time in the French wars, and at length dy'd Peaceably in y^e year 1264, Leaveing Norman y^e 3^d his son and heir, in whose time Robert Lord Marmion was owner of y^e whole Manours of Wintringham and Coningsby, in Lincolnshire, which after his Decease descended to his eldest son Robert, & after that to his eldest son William, and after his death to his son John, who, in the 11th year of Edward y^e 2^d obtain'd a grant from y^e King for a Weekly Market upon every Wednesday at his Manour of Wintringham; after whose Decease y^e Town & Manour came to y^e Lord Greys of Rotherfield, & after them to y^e Lords Fitz Hughs of Holderness, in Yorkshire. But to return y^e aforesayd Norman y^e 3^d, Lord of this Town, upon y^e breaking out of y^e Civel warr between y^e Barons & y^e King, had y^e ill fortune to take part with y^e fermer,

viz. 5^o R.
Johan.

* Glanford Briggs.

& thereby had all his Lands seiz'd into y^e King's Hands; but upon his Hearty submission and begging of Pardon he obtain'd them again. After which he was very Loyal, & did both y^e King & Nation great service in y^e Wars in France, Scotland, & Wales; after which, in his Declining years, he gave y^e Church & Tyths of Winterton to y^e Prior and Convent of Malton, who allow'd y^e Vicar there serveing God y^e sum of 4 Marks yearly for his Stipend, & then dy'd in y^e 24 year of Edw. y^e 1st, Leaveing

Philip y^e 2^d his son and Heir, who was very kind and Intimate with Hen. Lord Beaumont, y^e greatest soldier of his age, who for y^e many great services that he had done y^e Nation Obtained from y^e King a grant of y^e Manour of Barton upon Humber, Repair'd y^e great Church there, and made New Windows in y^e Chancel, in which he is yet to this day in effigie in y^e Glass Work, with his Armes by him, in a Pilgrym's habit, because that he took upon him a Pilgrymage to Jerusalem.^a One of his posterity, to wit, William Lord Beaumont, had some Estate at this Town of Winterton. Y^e aforesaid Philip was also exceeding kind with y^e great Earl of Lancaster, whereupon they with many others Hating Gaveston & Spenser y^e King's great Favourites, inconsideratly put themselves into Armes & broke out into an Open Rebellion, upon which y^e King seized all y^e Lands and Manours of this Philip L^d Darcy, & Reduced him to such straits that he was forced to fling himself at his Majesty's feet; by which means he did not onely obtain his pardon but likewise y^e grant of all his Lands again. 'Twas y^e same Earl of Lancaster here mentioned that in y^e 8th year of this King's Reign got a Charter for a Market upon Friday in every week at his Town of Burton upon Stather, with two Fairs yearly, y^e one to begin on All-Hallow-Eve & to continue for 14 days after, & y^e other to be upon the eve of y^e Holy Trinity & 4 Days after. But the aforesayd Philip dying left all to

Edw. 2^d.

Norman y^e 4th his son and Heir, who was scarce settled in his estate & Honours before that y^e Restless Duke of Lancaster drew him into a Rebellion, as he had done his father before him. Whereupon the King seiz'd all that he had, & gave them in this part of y^e Country to one S^r John de Loudham, K^t, who, in Old Records, is thereupon stiled Lord of y^e Manour of Wintrington, which S^r John, in y^e 10th year of Edw. y^e 2^d, gave unto William de Loudham his Brother, Rector of Gomniaston,^b one Thomas Locks of this Town, his Native or Slave, with his Wife,

^a An engraving of this figure was published by the late Mr. William Fowler of Winterton, in his Collection of Mosaic Pavements and Stained Glass.

^b Gonalstone in Nottinghamshire.

Children, & Chattel, & all that he had, but he, being of a Charitable Disposition, Manumitted him under his Hand & Seal, and quitted all manner of clame that he might Lawfully have to him & his. Y^e same also did Isabell de Lodham, Relict of S^r Walter de Lodham, K^t. But upon y^e aforesayd Norman's Humble submission to y^e King, he was again taken into Favour & had all his Manours restored him. Whereupon he went into y^e Warrs in Flanders & dyed there in 1340, Leaving no Issue; whereupon his Estate, or however y^e most part of it, (except what he gave to his Brothers S^r Robert Darcy & John Darcy of y^e Park & his sisters Juliana & Agnes, y^e 1st of whome was marry'd to S^r Philip de Limburg, K^t, & y^e other to S^r Roger de Pedwardine, K^t) went to

John Lord Darcy, a younger Brother to Philip aforesayd, Father of y^e last Norman, who was a person of very great note in his Time, was Sherif of Nottinghamshire, Darbyshire, Lancashire, Yorkshire, Governor of York, &c., and in y^e 1st year of Edw. 3^d obtained a Charter for Freewarren throughout all his Demean Lands in Winterton, Flixburrow, Coningsby, & Wrauby. He lived at Knaith, in Lincolnshire, which he got to be a Market & a Fair Town, & afterwards, to wit, in y^e 19th of Edw. 3^d, did y^e same for Torksey, & at Length dy'd in y^e year 1347, leaving

S^r John Darcy, Lord Darcy, his son & Heir, who was in y^e great Battel of Cressy, was Plenipotentiary for y^e Peace that then ensued between y^e 2 Crowns, was Governor of y^e Tower, London, &c., from whom Descended all or most of y^e great Familys of y^e Darcys in England, some of whome, without doubt, continu'd Lords of this Town for many ages after, but not meeting with them positively named as such, I shall say no more of them.

Darcy's Arms & an effigie in Winterton Church. (Marginal Note in manu Geor. Stovin.)

In King Henry y^e 5ths days there was a great Family of y^e Sleights of this town, one of whome, in his last will & Testament, dated y^e 12th of May in y^e year 1420, bequeathed his Soul to God, y^e Virgin Mary, & All Saints, & his Body to be buried in y^e Church yard of all Saints of this Town, giveing to y^e Fabrick of y^e same Church 3^s 4^d, to y^e High Altar there 8^d, to y^e Cathedral of Lincoln 2^s, to y^e Church of Beverley 1^s, to every Priest that should be at his Funeral 6^d, with many other Bequests not much worth nameing.

But that which is much more observable is an Indenture of award and agreement made between y^e Prior & Convent of Malton on y^e one part and y^e whole Town on the other part, in 1456, Relateing to y^e Customes, Dues, & Duties that y^e one clamed to have of the other, which I shall here set down at larg :

“ This Indenture, made between the Prior & y^e Convent of Malton, in y^e County of York, Parsons of y^e Kirk of Winterton, in y^e County of Lincoln, of y^e one

party; and Lyon Haytfield, Esq., Henry Cliderhow, John Athalt, John Lacy, John Riplingham, William Lacy, John Ellersal, John Maydenwell, Will. Brown, John Spicer, Tho. Yokefleet, & all others y^e Parishoners of y^e same Toun of Winterton, on y^e other party: Beareth witness, That where y^e sayd Parishoners clamed to have of y^e sayd Prior & Convent yearly a Deacon founded in y^e sayd church of Winterton sufficiently Learned in Reading & Singing to y^e Maintainance of God's Service in y^e same place. Also y^e sayd Parishoners claime yearly to have of y^e Prior & Convent of Malton, in y^e Ember Days before Christmas, one Quarter of Wheat Meal and two Oxen, to be given to y^e Poor People of y^e same Parish: and Also y^e same Parishoners clame yearly of y^e same Prior & Convent Five Gowns & Five pair of Shoes, to be dealt to y^e poor people of y^e same Parish. Beareth witness, that it is agreed that y^e Prior and Convent of Malton, & their Successors, shall have Swape^a of certain meadows called Frier Crofts, Typpet, and Thackhole, [for all the lyth medows in Winterton Inges and in Brawater wch belongeth to the houses Called by the name of messuages, and for Coteher Calfclose. And the said Prior of Malton and Cōuent, and their successors, after they have had the swape of the said grounde Called ffrier Croft, Typpet, and Thackhole, And to leade the medow awaye] there growing, [Accordinge] to y^e Custome there used, & to have no furer Interest in the sayd grounds than it is agreed according to Custome. Whereupon y^e sayd Prior of Malton & y^e sayd Convent, & Lyon Haytfield, Esq., and all other Parishoners of y^e sayd Town of Winterton, have agreed them to abide y^e Rule & Arbitriment of Roger Fauconberg, Esq., of all y^e Premises, & of all other Matters between them from y^e beginning of the World to y^e Day of y^e makeing of this Indenture; & y^e sayd Roger Fauconberg, takeing upon him y^e said Rule & Arbitrement, hath Awarded and Deemed by y^e agreement of both partys that y^e sayd Prior & Convent of Malton, and their successors, shall yearly give 10^s to y^e Kirkmasters of y^e Kirk of Winterton at y^e Feast of y^e Purification of Our Lady at Winterton, & to their successors, to be disposed of to y^e welfare of y^e Kirk of Winterton. Also y^e sayd Prior & Convent of Malton, & their successors, shall at their own Costs repair a Dike lying in Winterton betwixt Frier Croft & Bra Water as often as it needeth to be repaired. In Witness whereof the sayd Prior & Convent of Malton to y^e Indenture remaining with y^e sayd Parishoners have set to their common Seal. Given at Malton, y^e 10 day of August, in y^e Year of y^e Reign of King Henry y^e 6th y^e 34th."

^a This word is still in use in Lincolnshire; it signifies the sweep of the scythe, *i.e.* the right of mowing grass for hay. See Cowell, Law Dict. sub voc. "Swepage" and "Swatha." Coke, Institutes, vol. i. p. 4 b, edit. 1684.

The Seal is of Red Wax, Oblong, haveing on it y^e Representation of y^e Virgin Mary with Christ in her armes, & about it SIGILLUM PRIORIS ET CONVENTUS BEATÆ MARIÆ DE MALTON.^a

In y^e 22d year of Edward y^e 4th, S^r John Nevil of Althorp upon Trent, in y^e Isle of Axholme, marryd Elizabeth, y^e Daughter and sole Heir of S^r Robert Newmarsh, by whom he became Lord of y^e great Manours of Womersley, Askrigg, & Scothorp in Yorkshire, & of Whatton and others in the County of Nottingham. That which makes me take notice of this is, because that he was the Noble Founder and Builder of y^e neat Church of Althorp aforesayd, whose Armes & Crest are upon the west end of y^e Steeple to this Day Quartered with y^e Newmarshes.

In King Henry y^e 7th's days there was a great Family of y^e Scorbroughs of this Town, who were no small Benefactors to y^e Frier Minors of Grimsby, in requital of whose favours unto them they did in y^e years 1489 and 1498, under y^e seal of their convent, make one John Scorbrough and Alice his Wife, & another Robert Scorbrough and Eliz. his Wife, partakers of all their Meritorious Deeds, Masses, Prayers, Fasts, Penancies, Watchings, Preachings, Pilgrimages, & all the rest of their Good Works, & promised to keep their Obits when ever they dyd, & to pray for their Souls in their Provincial Chappel.

Both these Deeds, w^{ch} are yet extant, have oval seals of Red wax at them, bearing y^e impress of y^e Virgin with Christ in her armes, sucking, and under them the Image of St. Francis, in his Monk's Dress, Kneeling, and holding up his Hands in form of Prayer to her, & about which are these words written: GUARDIANUS FRATRUM MINORUM GRIMSBÆ.

About y^e year 1500, and somewhat before that time, there flourished a great Family of y^e Rudds at this Town, one of whome was merchant of y^e Staple at Callis in France, and thereby got a great Estate, which when he dyd in 1504 he gave for y^e most part to charitable uses, and founded a Chantry in this Church, where he lys buried, for y^e Perpetual good of his Soul. His gravestone is yet

^a The original document was evidently in existence when De la Pryme made his translation. It must have been in a mutilated condition, however, as an important part has been left out by the translator. A blank in the MS. indicates that this omission has not been made inadvertently. A translation of this document, among the editor's family papers, made when the record was perfect, gives him the opportunity of supplying the missing words, which are printed in the text inclosed in brackets. This version was made A.D. 1622. At that time the original was "in the hand and custodie of Thomas Howe, of Winterton."

remaining with y^e following Inscription :^a PRAY FOR Y^e SOULS OF JOHN RUDD, MERCHANT OF Y^e STAPLE AT CALLIS, & OF JOAN & ELIZABETH HIS WIVES, WHICH JOHN DECEASED Y^e 20TH DAY OF DECEMBER IN Y^e YEAR OF OUR LORD 1504, ON WHOSE SOULS JESUS HAVE MERCY, AMEN.

Adjoining upon this Parish of Winterton, & part of y^e same, is a great Level expended near 20 miles Lenth, call'd y^e Level of Ank, commonly Ankholt, from y^e River of that name that runs through y^e same. These being of little use & almost constantly drowned, were, in 163-, by y^e neighbouring gentlemen of y^e Country, undertaken to be drain'd & kept dry, for which they were to have one 3^d part to them, their Heirs and assigns, for ever. After a few years they happily effected this great work by cutting of broad Drains through y^e same, almost y^e whole length thereof, into the Humber, upon the chief of which they built a very great & extraordinary Sluce of Squared Stone & arched work, which cost 3900 t building. It had 24 Doors, each so weighty that it would have Loaded a Cart. The Foundation of all were layd upon 39 waggon Load of y^e best Trees that could be got in Broughton and Thornholm Woods. But that which, perhaps, brought a curse upon all, and hath involved not onely y^e country but also y^e undertakers in great Troubles, to the utter neglect of the Drainage and y^e great Decay of y^e sayd sluce, was the pulling down of Butterwick Chappel to build y^e same on.^b

After this began y^e Civel War, which, by y^e great Infidelity and wickedness that it brought into the Nation, made Churches so contemptible that dureing y^e same a great many of them were totally ruin'd & others suffer'd to fall to y^e ground for want of Repairs. This particularly of this Town was, through y^e same, in such a state of Decay that for many years after y^e Restoration there was scarce either a bit of glass in y^e windows or of Lead upon y^e Roof or any good Timber about it. It lay almost open to all Storms, so that if either Rain or snow fell y^e congregation were sure to suffer thereby. Thus it continued until that Mr. Tho. Place, a most worthy gentleman of y^e same Town & general Promoter of every thing that is great & good, begun to commiserate its sorrowfull condition & repair y^e same, which he so effectually promoted & performed that in a few

^a This monument still exists in a mutilated state in the chancel of the church. A pedigree of the family may be found in the Lincolnshire Herald's Visitation for 1564. Harl. MS. 1550, ff. 231b, 232. MS. Queen's Coll. Oxford, F. 22, f. 45.

^b A new sluce was built at Ferriby about thirty years ago. The contractor who demolished the old one told the editor's father that he discovered in the foundations many moulded stones that had evidently once formed parts of some Gothic building.

years all its Breaches and Cranies were mended, its Roof most of it cover'd with new Timber and Lead, its windows new glaz'd, its floors new layd, its old seats turn'd into Oak Pews, its walls beautifyd, its Bells new Cast, & its yard made Level, Handsom, & neat, & most of this at his own propper costs and charges, so that it is now one of y^e most Beautifull Churches in y^e Country.

[Note in the Hand of M^r George Stovin.]

In the year 1748, in the month of August, some people being at Harvest work found some peeces of Roman Tile, and informing me of it, I went with my Gardiner, Thomas Perfect, and M^r Fra. Drake of Yorke, Surgeon, and a Fellow of the Antiquarian Society, and after a small Time Digging we Discovered a Beautifull Tesselated Roman pavement. In one part to the west end was a Bust of a Lady (perhaps Diana) with a stag at her feet curiously don; in the midle and more to the east was the Bust of some Emperor, with a Sceptre or some such thing in his hand. A short time after, my Son James Stovin, Esq. of Doncaster (and now the owner of Estate), with other Gentlemen, found another Roman pavement joining to this at one corner, more beautifull than the first, in the midle of which was an octogon, with Orpheus playing upon an Instrument of musick, and several Beasts as it were danceing round him, viz. a Lion, a Stag, a Fox, with others curiously don, and in a variety of Collours. These pavements are in Winterton West Cliff, being arrable Land, and in the Lands of M^{rs} Howden and Cornⁿ Stovin, Esq. my Brother. They are the lands from Roxby Hedge to the north, and about yards from the Beck that runs at the bottom of the said Cliff. There was found several peeces of Roman Urns, part of a sacrificseing dish, several bones very dry and light, and great quantities of glass, don over with what is called the Electrum of the Antients, being a composition of Gold and Silver, peeces of lead, spites, an old knife; and upon the last beautifull pavement all the Bones of a man, very dry and light. In Thealby field, almost west of these pavements, is 3 Barrows; one was open'd, and [a] fine urn found full of Human Ashes, etc. But these pavements are drawing by M^r Metley of Yorke. They must be at Least 1400 year old.

G. STOVIN,
Nov^r 10th, 1748.

XV.—*Notes on Human Sacrifices among the Romans, by the Very Rev. HENRY GEORGE LIDDELL, D.D. Dean of Christchurch : communicated in a Letter to the Earl Stanhope, President.*

Read June 11th, 1863.

Christchurch, Oxford, May 31, 1863.

DEAR LORD STANHOPE,

I felt much interested in the little tract^a which you were good enough to send me on the question of the use of Human Sacrifices among the Romans. It was pleasant to see that the cares and duties of political life had not prevented Sir Robert Peel and Lord Macaulay from discussing eagerly an obscure point of classical lore.

I do not know whether the accompanying remarks will prove of interest to your Lordship, but they will at any rate serve to confirm the opinions expressed in that tract by the eminent statesmen whom I have mentioned.

Believe me to be,

Yours very faithfully,

H. G. LIDDELL.

To the Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope, &c. &c. &c.

The question—"Were Human Sacrifices in use among the Romans?"—must, I conceive, be answered in the negative. By *sacrifices*, I understand *innocent victims offered to appease the wrath of the gods*.

We will take in order the cases that may be alleged to prove the affirmation.

I. It is well known that on two remarkable occasions, viz. in the great Gallic War of 225 B.C.,^b and immediately after the Battle of Cannæ,^c the authorities consulted the Sibylline books, and by their express injunction buried alive in the Forum Boarium a Greek man and woman and a Gaulish man and woman.

^a Printed for private circulation in 1860, and since published in "Miscellanies, collected and edited by Earl Stanhope." London, 1863.

^b Plutarch, Vita Marcelli, 3; Oros. iv. 13.

^c Liv. xxii. 57; Dion. Cass. Excerpt. Vales. xii.; cf. Plin. Hist. Nat. xxviii. § 3.

Dio Cassius adds the reason for this barbarous rite, viz. that it was "due to an oracle which said that the Greek and the Gaul should occupy the city."

It should be added that Pliny (*l. c.*) speaks of the practice of vivi-sepulture as continued to his own time ("etiam nostra ætas vidit"); and Plutarch (*l. c.*) speaks of some barbarous rites connected with the practice as still prevailing:—
ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῷ Νοεμβρίῳ μηνὶ δρώσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ Γαλάταις ἀπορρήτους καὶ ἀθεύτους ἱερουργίας.

In these last words, the mention of the month of November seems to indicate that the rites alluded to were annual and customary. But it is plain that these rites were something different from sacrifices properly so called. For in this very place he speaks of vivi-sepulture as something forced and extraordinary: *βαρβαρικὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἔκφυλον ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἀλλ' ὥς ἐνι μάλιστα ταῖς δόξαις Ἑλληνικῶς διακείμενοι καὶ πρῶτος πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, τότε τοῦ πολέμου συμπεσόντος ἡναγκάσθησαν εἰξαίλογοις τισὶν ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων, δύο μὲν Ἕλληνας κ.τ.λ.*; and in his *Quæstiones Romanæ* he proposes as a problem:^a "How it was the Romans, having heard that the Bletonesii, a barbarous tribe, had offered a man to the gods, sent for their magistrates to punish them, but dismissed them on its being shown that the offering had been made by command of the law; and then forbade all such sacrifices for the future; although they had themselves not long before buried Gauls and Greeks alive in the Forum Boarium." He solves the problem by replying that the Romans had done this by the special injunction of the Sibylline Books; *but that they considered all regular and customary offerings of this kind to be criminal.* Livy speaks of the practice with horror as a *minime Romanum sacrum*.

We may therefore put aside the instances of vivi-sepulture as irrelevant to the present inquiry. They were not sacrifices or propitiatory offerings, in the proper sense of the word. They seem not to have had any *religious* character about them, but to have been superstitiously adopted for the purpose of averting a prophecied danger by the old and childish expedient of fulfilling it in a literal manner.

II. Something more nearly approaching human sacrifice is found in the well-known examples of the Decii and Curtius. But every one sees that these instances of self-devotion are something very different from sacrifices, properly so called.

There is a tradition that the great Marius offered his daughter Calpurnia as a propitiatory sacrifice in the course of the Cimbric War.^b But, though Plutarch

^a No. lxxxiii. *Opera Moral.* p. 283, F.

^b Clemens Alex. *Protreptr.* p. 37, ed. Potter.; Plutarch, *Parallela*, No. xx, *Opera Mor.* p. 310, E. They both cite the historian Dorotheus as their authority.

notices this statement in his *Parallela*, he omits it in his *Life of Marius*. Even if the story be accepted, Marius can hardly be accepted as a representative Roman, especially when we remember that he pinned his faith on the predictions and advice of an *Oriental* fortune-teller, named Martha.^a It is, at most, an isolated fact.

III. Something more nearly approaching an acknowledgement of the fitness of conciliating the gods by human victims appears from the way in which certain *sacrilegious criminals* were put to death.

Dionysius records it as a law of Romulus that traitors (*proditores*) were liable to be slain by any person, *ὡς θύμα τοῦ καταχθονίου Διός*;^b adding that it was customary to devote the bodies of such persons "to some God, especially to those of the world below." And it was one of the laws passed for the security of the tribunes and other magistrates after the abolition of the Decemvirate, "*Ut qui Tribunis Plebis, Ædilibus, Judicibus, Decemviris nocuisset, ejus caput Jovi sacrum esset.*"^c

Here, then, the execution of a great state-criminal was made more solemn and impressive by treating him as an offender against the majesty of the gods. But the religious notion here involved is something entirely different from the religious notion of a sacrifice. Religion was used to add terror to the punishment, not to propitiate the offended deity.

I apprehend that the instances of the two men slain with certain sacrificial rites (*ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν*) in the time of the Dictator Cæsar,^d and of the three hundred prisoners "*hostiarum more mactatos*" at an altar consecrated to Divus Julius, in the time of Augustus,^e would, if we possessed full knowledge of the facts, be found to come under this head.

IV. I conclude, therefore, that under the Republic and the earlier Emperors there are no certain traces of what may properly be called human sacrifices. And it may be shown that the feelings of Romans must have been adverse to anything of the kind.

We have already alluded to the expressions attributed to Romans by Livy and Plutarch with respect to the rite of *vivi-sepulture*. Let us hear Cicero speaking in open court. The great advocate is attempting to weaken the force of the evidence given by certain Gallic witnesses against his client, and he attacks the moral character of the whole nation, on the very ground that they practised the abomination of human sacrifices. "*Postremo his quidquam sanctum ac religiosum*

^a Plutarch, *Vita Mar.* 17.

^b *Antiqq.* ii. 10.

^c *Liv.* iii. 55; cf. *Dionys. Antiqq.* vi. 89.

^d *Dion Cass.* xliii. 24.

^e *Sueton. Octav.* 15.

videri potest, qui etiam si quando aliquo metu adducti deos placandos esse arbitrantur, humanis hostiis eorum aras ac templa funestant? ut ne religionem quidem colere possint, nisi eam ipsam prius scelère violarint. Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbarum consuetudinem hominum immolandorum? Quanobrem quali fide, quali pietate existimate esse eos, qui etiam Deos immortales arbitrentur hominum scelere et sanguine facillime posse placari? Cum his vos testibus vestram religionem conjungetis? Ab his quidquam sancte aut moderate dictum putabitis?"^a How flat, how unmeaning, must this indignant appeal have been in the ears of people who were in the habit of witnessing or themselves practising such sacrifices! So also Pliny says, evidently with unfeigned horror:^b—"Esse Scytharum genera, et quidem plura, quæ corporibus humanis vescerentur, indicavimus. Id ipsum incredibile fortasse, ni cogitemus nuperrime trans Alpes hominem immolari gentium earum more solitum, quod paulum a mandendo abest." Human sacrifice, he argues, is little better than cannibalism.

It might, indeed, be argued from another passage of Pliny^c (in which he states that in the year 97 B.C. a decree was made by the Senate "ne homo immolaretur") that the practice of human sacrifice must have been prevalent at Rome. But a perusal of the whole passage, taken with reference to the preceding sections, will shew that this decree referred to certain barbarous practices connected with the introduction of magic arts of foreign origin.

V. After these statements, which seem to prove conclusively that in the times of Cicero and Pliny human sacrifices were regarded at Rome as a mark of extreme barbarism, we may well be astonished to learn that a succession of authors, from Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century after Christ, to Athanasius and Prudentius, in the middle of the fourth century, mention it as a notorious fact that human sacrifices were regularly offered to Jupiter Latiaris or Latialis at the *Feriæ Latinæ*, under the presidency, if not by the hands, of the chief magistrates of the state.

Cicero as Consul had presided at this great festival. Dionysius has left us an account of its rites and sacrifices.^d The silence of these authors, and indeed of all authors of the classical age, is of itself sufficient to disprove the prevalence of the practice of human sacrifices at that festival in their time.

Eusebius states that human sacrifices were abolished throughout the world

^a Pro Fonteio, c. 10.

^b Hist. Nat. vii. 2; cf. xxx. § 4.

^c Ibid. xxx. § 3.

^d Antiqq. 99, iv. 49.

in the time of Hadrian,^a i.e. between 117 and 138 A.D. Yet it is within thirty years of the death of Hadrian that we find the first statement quoted in support of the practice of human sacrifices at the altar of Jupiter Latiaris.

The authors spoken of are Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, Cyprian (or a writer using his name), Minucius Felix, Lactantius, Athanasius, Firmicus, Prudentius. They are all Christian writers. But one Pagan writer, Porphyry, must be placed in the list between Minucius Felix and Lactantius.

I will now set down, in chronological order, the actual passages which are cited to prove the practice of human sacrifices at the festival of Jupiter Latiaris.

Justin Martyr.^b—φάσκοντες Κρόνου μὲν μυστήρια τελεῖν ἐν τῷ ἀνδροφονεῖν καὶ ἐν τῷ αἵματος ἐμπίπλασθαι, ὡς λέγετε, τὰ ἴσα τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμωμένῳ εἰδῶλερ, ὃ οὐ μόνον ἀλόγων ζώων αἵματα προσραίνετε ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπεια, διὰ τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐπισημοτάτου καὶ εὐγενεστάτου ἀνδρὸς τὴν πρόσχυσιν τοῦ τῶν φονευθέντων αἵματος ποιούμενοι.

Tatian.^c—ταῦτα οὖν ἰδὼν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ μυστηρίων μεταλαβὼν, καὶ τὰς παρὰ πᾶσι θρησκείας δοκιμάσας, . . . εὐρὼν δὲ παρὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὸν Λατιάριον Δία λύθροις ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδροκτασιῶν αἵμασι τερπόμενον κ.τ.λ.

Theophilus Antiochenus.^d—Διὸς τοῦ Λατιαρίου διψῶντος αἵματος ἀνθρωπέου.

Tertullian.^e—"Ecce in illa religiosissima Urbe Æneadarum piorum est *Jupiter quidam quem ludis suis humano prolunt sanguine. Sed bestiarum*, inquit. Hoc, opinor, minus quam hominis : *an hoc turpius, quod mali hominis ?* Certe tamen de homine funditur."

Cyprian (or some one under his name).^f—"Plura prosequi quid est necesse, vel *sacrificiorum* in ludis genera monstrosa describere ? inter quæ nonnunquam et homo fit hostia latrocinio *sacerdotis ; dum cruor* etiam de jugulo calidus acceptus patera, dum adhuc fervet, *quasi sitiendi idolo in faciem jactatus, propinatur.*"

Minucius Felix.^g—"Quid ipse Jupiter vester ? . . . cum Hammon dicitur, habet cornua ; et cum Capitolinus, tunc gerit fulmina ; et cum Latiaris, *sanguine perfunditur.*"

Idem.^h—"Hodieque ab ipsis Latiaris Jupiter *homicidio colitur*, et (quod Saturni filio dignum est) *mali et noxii hominis sanguine saginatur.*"

^a *De Laud. Constantini*, c. xvi. ; cf. Porphyry. *de Abstinencia*, ii. 56 ; Lactant. i. 21.

^b *Apologia Secunda*, p. 50, ed. Paris ; written about 164 A.D.

^c *Oratio ad Græcos*, c. 46 ; written a little after Justin.

^d *Ad Autolycum*, iii. ; written about 180 A.D.

^e *Apologia*, c. 9 ; cf. *de Spectaculis*, c. 6 ; about 200 A.D.

^f *Epist. de Spectaculis*, c. 5 ; of doubtful date.

^g *Octav.* c. 21 ; about 230 A.D.

^h *Ibid.* c. 30.

Porphyrus :^a—ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν τίς ἀγνοεῖ κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τῇ τοῦ Λατιαρίου Δίος ἑορτῇ σφαζόμενον ἄνθρωπον ;

Lactantius :^b—“ siquidem Latialis Jupiter etiam nunc sanguine colitur humano.”

Firmicus :^c—“ Latiaris templi cruore vel ara Carthaginis rabies tua et siccarum faucium venena nutrita sunt.”

Athanasius :^d—“ καὶ οἱ παλαὶ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν καλούμενον Λατιάριον Δία ἀνθρωποθυσίαις ἐθρήσκεον.

Prudentius :^e—After describing a gladiatorial combat, *which he represents as an offering to the Infernal King*, he continues :

“ Funditur humanus Latiarī in munere sanguis,
Consensusque ille spectantum solvit ad aram
Plutonis fera vota sui. Quid sanctius ara,
Quæ bibit egestum per mystica tela cruorem? ”

On reviewing these passages, the following criticisms may be offered :—

(1) It is obvious that the statement in question occurs in the writings of Christian apologists, whose cue it was to exaggerate the vices and abominations of the Pagan ritual. It is known that the Christian eucharist was falsely stated to be accompanied by impious orgies, and that it was attended by the sacrifice of a child. It is in answer to accusations of this kind that Justin first breaks ground with the story of Jupiter Latiaris. His allegation partakes of the nature of a *tu quoque*.

(2) Several of these Christian apologists were orientals, and knew little of Rome and Roman customs, yet it must be admitted that several of them had good means of information. Justin probably wrote at Rome. Tatian writes as as if he had witnessed the thing he speaks of. Tertullian was engaged in hot controversy with the clergy of Rome. Minucius Felix was a Roman lawyer.

(3) The testimony of these Christian writers might seem to be placed above suspicion by the corroborating evidence of Porphyry, who was not only a Pagan, but a bitter enemy of Christianity. But Porphyry agreed with the Christians in reprobating the whole sacrificial system of Heathenism ; and the Second Book of his Tract on Abstinence from Animal Food is devoted to prove the abominations to which that system led ; and passages from this book are twice cited by Euse-

^a *De Abstinētia*, ii. 56 ; about 270 A.D.

^b *Instit.* i. 21 ; about 290 AD.

^c *De Errore Profan. Relig.* p. 456 ; written before 350 A.D.

^d *Contra Gentes*, p. 24 ; about 350 A.D.

^e *Contra Symmachum*, i. v. 380, sqq. ; about 370 A.D.

buis to support the Christian side in the sacrificial controversy.^a It is indeed not impossible that Porphyry, whom we know to have been little versed in Roman customs, and well acquainted with Christian writings, borrowed the statement respecting Jupiter Latiaris from one or other of the apologists. At all events, his statement must not be regarded as deriving any authority from the fact that he was not a Christian.

But indeed when these passages are reviewed carefully it appears that at any rate the earliest and best-instructed writers say nothing which necessarily involves the notion of sacrifice.

Tertullian speaks most plainly. He reproaches the Romans with the barbarous practice of drenching the statue of Jupiter with human blood *at their games*. He is arguing against the barbarity of such a practice, which he contends is only partially excused by the defence that this man is no innocent victim, but *a criminal condemned to fight with beasts*, a bad man, "and we make his punishment more signal by the religious solemnity of sprinkling his blood on the image of Jupiter, and thus showing that it is the supreme god, not ourselves, who punishes." But he admits the *facts* alleged in the defence, and thereby removes this human slaughter out of the region of sacrifice. So Minucius Felix speaks of the victim being "a bad and guilty man." Justin and Fabian use words which are quite reconcileable with this state of things. The author of the tract attributed to Cyprian does indeed speak of *sacrificium* and *sacerdos*, still he is aware of the real nature of the slaughter. He represents the thing as being done at the Games, and he describes the sprinkling of the blood. Porphyry the Pagan first takes up the notion of *sacrifice* properly so called. Not that his words necessarily imply this, but the whole tenor of his argument requires it. He evidently believed in the sacrifice of human victims to Jupiter Latiaris. But he was an oriental; his habits were those of an enthusiastic student of philosophy; and it was very easy for him to misunderstand the words used by the apologists who wrote before his time, and with whose works he was certainly acquainted, especially when such misunderstanding suited the scope of his argument. Athanasius speaks of the practice as extinct in his time; of course, therefore, his report is on second hand. Prudentius, a man employed in the imperial court, had no doubt better information, and speaks of the thing as a gladiatorial barbarity, rather than a sacrifice.^b

^a Præp. Evang. ii. 16; *De Laud. Constantini*, 13. .

^b To show how eagerly the Christians interpreted these gladiatorial atrocities as connected with sacri-

VI. On the whole, then, I conclude that the real fact is that which appears in Tertullian. Criminals had from early times, as we have seen, been devoted to the gods to give greater heinousness to their crime, and to add terror and solemnity to their punishment. We seem here to find a revival of this ancient practice coupled with the barbaric novelty of making this devotion and this punishment a public spectacle at the great games of Jupiter. The *bestiarii* of Cicero's time were gladiators hired to fight with wild beasts; the *bestiarii* of the Christian times were real or supposed criminals exposed without arms or armour to this unequal combat, and these unhappy men were the victims represented as being offered to Jupiter of Latium. Probably the practice originated under such Cæsars as Nero and Domitian, who fed the public taste with blood, and under whom every kind of gladiatorial exhibition was multiplied and diversified.

ficial rites, Thirlby, in his excellent note on Justin (to which I am indebted for many of my citations and arguments) quotes a curious passage from Cyrill of Alexandria: ἐν ἀκμαῖς δὲ οὕσης ἔτι τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἁμύλλαι μονομαχίας ἐπετελοῦντο παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κατὰ καιροῦς, κέκρυπτο δὲ τις ὑπὸ γῆν Κρόνος λίθοις τετρημένοις ὑπόκειχηνός, ἵνα τῷ τοῦ πεσόντος καταμαίνοιτο λύθρῳ. (*Contra Julianum*, p. 128.) Here we find a distinct statement that the figure of the god Cronos was placed beneath perforated stones in order that the blood of the combatants might trickle through and fall upon it. Thirlby suggests that he had heard some account of the underground altar of the Sabine god, Consus, mentioned by Dionysius, *Antiqq.* ii. 31; Plutarch, *Vit. Romul.* v. 14; and Tertullian, *De Spectac.* c. 5, which, however, was not in the gladiatorial arena, but the Hippodrome.

XVI.—*Memoranda on the question of the Use of Human Sacrifices among the Romans.* By WILLIAM BODHAM DONNE, Esq.: in a Letter to the Earl Stanhope, President.

Read Feb. 18th, 1864.

MY LORD,

IN the volume of "Miscellanies," which has recently appeared under the able editing of your Lordship, are some remarks by Lord Macaulay, Sir Robert Peel, and yourself, on the Use of Human Sacrifices by the Romans. These remarks, which I have read with great interest, lead me to turn to various passages in classical authors that bear on the subject. The result of my inquiry I take the liberty of forwarding to your Lordship. I have not attempted to make any selection of the extracts, and, as I have no theory to support, I must request your Lordship to consider them merely materials for the use of some one with more leisure and greater ability than myself.

Believe me to be, my Lord,

Yours faithfully,

To the Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope,
&c. &c. &c.

W. B. DONNE.

"The idea of human sacrifice," Mr. Helps remarks in his "Spanish Conquest of America,"^a "as pleasing to the gods, being once adopted in moments of victory, doubt, or humiliation, is soon developed. The evil practice becomes a system, and partakes of the strength of all systems, taking root among the interests, the passions, and the pleasures of mankind. And thenceforward he will be a bold man, and, rarer still, a thinker, who shall lift himself above the moral atmosphere of his nation, and shall say, This thing which all consent in, and which I have known from my youth upward, is wrong."

We might naturally expect that civilisation, at a very early stage, would abolish

^a Vol. ii. p. 340.

such a practice, and establish a conviction that the life of a man not being a criminal must be more acceptable to the gods, and more useful to his fellow-creatures, than his death. But the reverse is often found to be the case. Mexico, at the time of the Spanish Conquest, had advanced in the arts of life as far as Greece at the time of Solon, as far as Rome in the time of the Kings or early Consuls, and further than Europe in the age of Charlemagne, although Europe had inherited directly the civilisation of Rome, and mediately that of Greece also. Carthage again, in the Second Punic War, was more civilised than Rome or Mexico at those respective periods. Yet we know that both the Aztecs and the Phœnicians of the West offered human life to the gods. The evidence is less clear respecting the Druids: yet by very general consent the Celts in Cæsar's time, and probably later, offered human victims; and at that epoch Celtic civilisation was at its highest point, both in Gaul and perhaps in Britain.

Mr. Helps,^a after remarking upon the inconsistency of such a barbarous rite as human sacrifice with "so much civilisation," proceeds to give the theory of it as follows:

"When we reflect upon the untoward, disastrous, and ridiculous aspect of human life—how, for instance, little things done or neglected at an immature period have so fatal an influence throughout a life-time—when we behold the successful iniquity, the immense injustice, and the singular infelicity which often beset the most innocent of men—nay further, when we see the spitefulness of nature (for so it seems unless profoundly understood)—when we consider the great questions of human life, such as free will and the origin of evil, which are not explained now, but only agreed to be postponed in humble hopefulness, and which, in the earlier periods of the world's history, exercised to the full their malign discouragement—we cannot wonder at the belief in evil deities of great power and supremacy. And then what more natural than to clothe such deities with the worst attributes of bad men, and to suppose that they must be approached with servility and appeased by suffering? Then further, what more natural than to offer to such gods of the best upon earth, namely, our fellow-men?"

"It must not be forgotten there was often a friendly feeling towards the persons sacrificed, and in some cases they were looked upon as messengers to the gods, and charged with distinct messages."

It is accordingly a curious question how far human sacrifice is consistent with a civilised state, and in what nations and under what conditions it has prevailed;

^a Vol. ii. p. 339.

whether it originated among migratory hunters and shepherds, or whether among the stationary tillers of the soil, and after commerce had led to the building of markets and havens. It may very likely be impossible to arrive at any positive conclusion, still less to discover any governing law. In the following extracts, a selection is not attempted; but they may be of some use as materials for determining the doubt so far as the Romans are concerned.

In the volume of "Miscellanies" p. 114, Lord Stanhope writes—

"In the face of such a passage as that from Suetonius, &c., it is not easy to contend that the occasional practice of human sacrifice was entirely unknown even to the contemporaries and the friends of Cicero." Tertullian (*adv. Gnost.* c. 7) is equally positive. He says, "Et Latio in hodiernum Jovi media in urbe humanus sanguis ingustatur."

With regard, however, to the passage of Suetonius (*August.* 15), I submit that the sacrifice was offered, not at Rome or on the Alban Mount, but at Perusia, and to the *manes* of Julius Cæsar, not to Jupiter Latiaris. Seneca (*de Clement.* ii. c. 11) calls the altars "Perusinas aras." Appian (*Bell. Civ.* v. 48, and Velleius, ii. 74) assert that the massacre at Perusia was not a solemn act of Octavianus "in vindictam patris," but committed by the infuriated soldiery on the garrison. (See Propert. v. [iv.] el. 1) for the instance of the dying Gallus.) Had the sacrifice been at Rome, the words "ad aram D. Julii exstructam" would, I think, have been "ad aram D. Julii"—as of an altar previously known and recognised. There was a "columna D. Julii" at Rome (Sueton. *Jul.* 85); but I know not of an *ara*, although some of the provincials, the Jews especially, paid Cæsar "post obitum" honours at the base of this column.

Perusia was taken early in B.C. 40. The ides of March, the death-day of Julius, might be appropriately chosen for decimation of the rebels. (See Dio Cass. xlviii. 14.) The *ara* may have been raised for the occasion (a *recens ara* of turf. Propert. v. el. 6, v. 7). Nothing was so unpalatable to Romans as a triumph over Romans. They looked coldly on, and mourned inwardly over the triumphs of Julius "De Pompeio," of Augustus "De Antonio." What would they have said and thought of a holocaust of cives (ἱππεῖς τετρακόσιοι καὶ βουλευταὶ ἄλλοι, Dio Cass. *l. c.*) in the Capitol itself? [Comp. *id.* xlii. 24.]

Cicero (*Pro Milone*, xxxi.) insinuates that P. Clodius was a victim rightfully offered to Jupiter Latiaris. "Vestro in conspectu seræ, sed justæ tamen et debitæ pœnæ solutæ sunt."

Human sacrifices were forbidden by a decree of the Senate, B.C. 97, for the first time (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxx. i. § 3): "Exstant certe et apud Italas gentes vestigia

ejus^a in duodecim tabulis nostris aliisque argumentis, quæ priore volumine exposui. DCLVII demum anno urbis, Cn. Cornelio Lentulo, P. Licinio Crasso coss. senatus consultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur, palamque fuit in tempus illud sacri prodigiosi celebratio.”^b

Pliny, in the next section (*ib.*), says, with reference to the suppression of Druidic worship in Gaul: “Nec satis æstimari potest quantum Romanis debeat qui sustulere monstra in quibus hominem occidere religiosissimum erat,” &c. Augustus and Tiberius prohibited Roman citizens from embracing the Druidical superstition, fearing, indeed, the associations (*collegia*) of the Druids politically, as well as abhorring their rites religiously (Suetonius, *Claud.* 25); and Hadrian suppressed human sacrifices at Salamis in Cyprus (*Lactant. Inst.* i. 21).

In very ancient times human victims were offered to the Dii Lares. Macrobius (*Saturnal.* i. 7) says “Idque aliquamdiu observatum, ut pro familiarium sospitate pueri mactarentur Maniæ Deæ, Matri Larum; quod sacrificii genus Junius Brutus consul, Tarquinio pulso, aliter constituit celebrandum. Nam capitibus alli et papaveris supplicari jussit, remoto scilicet scelere infaustæ sacrifice.”

The words *vestigia* in Pliny, *l.c.*, and *aliter* in Macrobius, are worth noting; they indicate compensation for a barbarous custom of a remote, if not pre-historic, age.

For *vestigia*, see the following passages:—

I. Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 329 et seqq.

Constat Aventinæ tremuisse cacumina silvæ,
Terraque subsedit pondere pressa Jovis.
Corda micant regis, totoque e pectore sanguis
Fugit, et hirsutæ diriguere comæ.
Ut rediit animus, “Da certa piamina,” dixit,
“Fulminis, altorum rexque paterque deûm;
“Si tua contigimus manibus donaria puris,
“Hoc quoque, quod petitur, si pia lingua rogat.”
Annuat oranti; sed verum, ambage remota,
Abdidit et dubio terruit ore virum.
“Cæde caput,” dixit; cui Rex “Parebimus,” inquit;
“Cædenda est hortis eruta cepa meis.”

^a *i.e.* “*artis magicæ*,” the sacrifice, therefore, must have been “*inter peregrina*.” It is remarkable that this prohibition of human sacrifices was enacted only nine years after the birth of Cicero, and three after that of Julius Cæsar.

^b Alex. ab Alexandro cites this passage (*Dier. Genial.* vi. 26), and his commentator, Antonio Tiraquelli, gives some illustrative notes.

Addit hic "*Hominis*." "Summos," ait ille, "capillos:"
 Postulat hic "*Animam*." Cui Numa, "Piscis," ait.
 Risit et, "His," inquit, "facito mea tela procures,
 "O vir colloquio non abigende meo."

II. A second instance of *compensation* may lurk in the "*Depontani Senes*." Festus, p. 75, ed. Müller: "*Depontani Senes appellabantur qui sexagenarii de ponte dejiciebantur*." [? as offerings to the Tiber—the deus advena of Propertius and Ovid.] The words *de ponte* point to the regal period of Rome, since there was then only one bridge, *Pons Sublicius*.

Compare with this *Depontani Senes* the *Argei Homines*, Fest. p. 15, s. v. *Argei*, ed. Müller: "*Argeos vocabant scirpeas effigies quæ per virgines vestales annis singulis jaciebantur in Tiberim?*"

And Varro, de Ling. Lat. vii. 44, p. 137, ed. Müller: "*Argei fiunt e scirpeis, simulacra hominum xxiiii.: ea quotannis de Ponte Sublicio a sacerdotibus^a publice dejici solent in Tiberim.*"

Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 621 et seqq. thus describes the *Depontatio simulacrorum*—

Tum quoque priscorum virgo^b simulacra virorum
 Mittere roboreo scirpea ponte solet.
 Corpora post decies senos qui credidit annos
 Missa neci, sceleris crimine damnat avos.
 Fama vetus: tum, quum Saturnia terra vocata est,
 Talia fatidici dicta fuere dei:
 "Falcifero libata seni duo corpora, gentes,
 "Mittite, quæ Tuscis excipiantur aquis."
 Donec in hæc venit Tirynthius^c arva, quotannis
 Tristia Leucadio sacra peracta modo.
 Illum stramineos in aquam misisse Quirites,
 Herculis exemplo, corpora falsa jaci.

Macrobius says (*Saturnal.* i. 7) that Hercules persuaded the Italian people—"ut faustis sacrificiis infausta mutarent, inferentes Diti non hominum capita, sed oscilla ad humanam effigiem arte simulata; et aras Saturnias, non mactando viros, sed accensis luminibus excolentes: quia non solum virum sed et lumina φῶτα significat."

^a Dionysius Halicarn. i. 38, speaks to the same purpose, but ascribes human sacrifices in Italy to a prehistoric period, adding, that the Carthaginians and Keltic nations practised them εἰς τὸδε χρόνον.

^b The association of the "pontifex cum tacita virgine" (Horace, iii. carm. 3, 9), is perhaps worth remarking.

^c Dionysius Hal. *l.c.*

The word *φῶτα* refers to an oracle, cited by Macrobius, given to some Pelasgians at Dodona, containing these lines :

Αἷς ἀναμιχθέντες δεκάτην ἐκπέμψατε Φοῖβω,
καὶ κεφαλὰς Ἄδῃ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ πέμπετε φῶτα.

The oracle, however, is of the Alexandrian period and coinage.

In the *Ver Sacrum* of the Sabellian races of Italy we have perhaps the compensation for an earlier and more cruel sacrifice.

Festus, s. "Ver Sacrum," p. 379, ed. Müller: "Ver Sacrum vovendi mos fuit Italis. Magnis enim periculis adducti vovebant, quæcunque proximo vere nata essent apud se, animalia immolaturos. Sed quum crudele videretur pueros ac puellas innocentes interficere, perductos in adultam ætatem velabant [this veiling of the victims looks sacrificial] atque ita extra fines suos exigebant."

See Servius ad *Æneid.* vii. 796, "Sacraneæ acies"—bands of men condemned to die, whose death was commuted by exile.

May not the following passages point to a time when the Italian religion had somewhat of a Mexican complexion?

Pliny (Nat. Hist. xxxiii. c. vii. 36) says that on certain days of the year the image of Jupiter was coloured with vermilion: "Enumerat auctores Verrius, quibus credere necesse sit, Jovis ipsius simulacri faciem diebus festis minio illini solitam triumphantiumque corpora—sic Camillum triumphasse. Hac religione etiam nunc addi in unguenta cœnæ triumphalis et a censoribus in primis Jovem *minuandum* locari." May not the *minium* have been a memento of the actual blood-sprinkling of earlier ages, like that mentioned by Cyprian, (if he indeed be the author of the letter,) in his *Epistola de Spectaculis*, p. 3?

"Plura prosequi quid est necesse, vel sacrificiorum in ludis genera monstrosa describere? inter quæ nonnunquam et homo fit hostia latrocinio sacerdotis; dum cruor etiam de jugulo calidus acceptus patera, dum adhuc fervet quasi sitienti idolo in faciem jactatus propinatur."

On the other hand, Plutarch (*Numa*, c. 16, p. 267, c, and *Quæst. Roman.* sec. 15) speaks of the bloodless sacrifices of the Romans at a very early period. He says:

Καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ κατὰ τοὺς τῶν ἀγρῶν περιορισμούς,^a νῦν μὲν ἔμφυχα, τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ ἀναίμακτος ἦν ἡ θυσία, Νουμᾷ φιλοσοφήσαντος, ὥς χρὴ τὸν ὄριον θεὸν [Τερμῶνα], εἰρήνης φύλακα καὶ δικαιοσύνης μάρτυν ὄντα, φόνου καθαρὸν εἶναι.

Διὰ τί τὸν Τέρμινον φῶ τὰ Τερμινᾶλια ποιοῦσι θεὸν νομίζοντες οὐδὲν ἔθνον αὐτῷ ζῶον;

^a περιορισμούς. The Ambarvalia described by Tibullus, ii. el. 1.

the reason for the bloodless sacrifice is the same as that assigned in the Life of Numa.

Horace ascribes the cessation from bloody rites to a mythic age :

“ Silvestres homines sacer interpresque deorum
Cædibus et victu fædo deterruit Orpheus;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigres rabidosque leones.”—A. P. 392.

Of human sacrifices in Italy and the Roman provinces I find the following notices ; no doubt many more exist.

Epiphanius (*adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. tom. ii. p. 1055, ed. Petavio) : ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Σικέμοις, τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ νυνὶ Νεαπόλει, θυσίας, οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τελοῦσιν εἰς ὄνομα τῆς κόρης, δῆθεν ἐκ προφάσεως τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἰεφθάε, τῆς ποτε προσενεχθείσης τῷ θεῷ εἰς θυσίας.

Lactantius (*Inst.* i. 21) : “Apud Cyprios humanam hostiam Jovi Teucrus immolavit, idque sacrificium posteris tradidit, quod est *nuper*, Hadriano imperante, sublatum.”

Apollonius of Tyana (Philostratus, *Apollonii Vita*, vii. 20) was accused of offering a boy to procure good omens for Nerva—φασὶν, ἐς ἀγρὸν βαδίσαντά σε παρὰ Νερούαν τεμεῖν ἀντὶ παῖδα Ἀρκάδα, θυομένῳ γε ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἐπᾶραι αὐτὸν—εἰς τὴν τῆς αυτοκρατείας ἔλπίδα—τοῖς ἱεροῖς τουτοῖς. Apollonius (*ib.* viii. 5, sec. 11) seems to me to say, in his defence against this charge, that, *if* he killed the boy, he also ate him.

Of the patristic testimony I may quote the following :—

Tatian (*Orat. adv. Græc.* s. 29) says that his belief in heathenism was first shaken after witnessing—παρὰ μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὸν Λατιάριον Δία λύθοις ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνδροκτασιῶν αἵμασι τερπόμενον.

Arnobius (*adv. Gentes*, ii. p. 91) : “cum ex Apollinis monitu patri Diti ac Saturno humanis capitibus supplicaretur.”

To these may be added the following passages :—

Justin Martyr, *Apol.* ii. c. 12 ; Theophilus, *ad Autol.* ii. 8, p. 165 ; Tertullian, *Apol.* c. ix. ; Scorp. c. viii. ; Athanasius, *c. Gent.* c. xxv. ; Porphyry, *περὶ ἀποχῆς* ap. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* 1, 16.

^a These are passages referred to by Mr. Holden in his edition of Minutius Felix (Camb. 1853), on the subject of Jupiter Latiaris. (Minut. Felix, c. xxi. s. 15.)

